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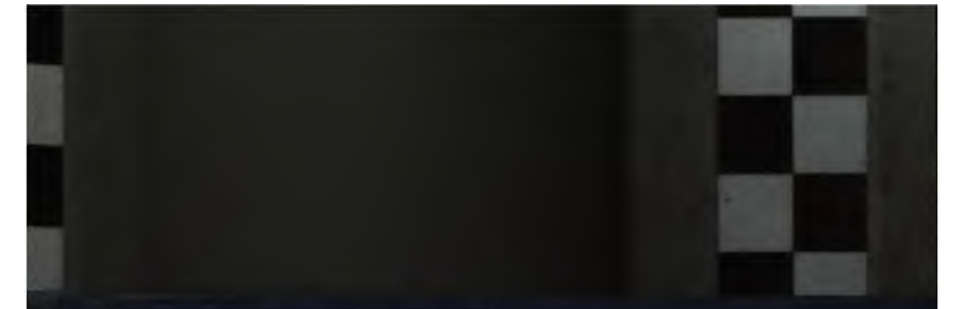

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MINSTRELSY

OF THE

SCOTTISH BORDER:

CONSISTING OF

HISTORICAL AND ROMANTIC BALLADS,

COLLECTED

IN THE SOUTHERN COUNTIES OF SCOTLAND; WITH A FEW OF MODERN DATE, FOUNDED UPON LOCAL TRADITION.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

FIFTH EDITION.

The songs, to savage virtue dear,
That won of yore the public ear,
Ere Polity, sedate and sage,
Had quench'd the fires of feudal rage.—WARTON.

EDINBURGH:

PRINTED FOR LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, AND BROWN, LONDON; AND A. CONSTABLE AND CO. EDINBURGH.

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MINSTRELSY

OF THE

SCOTTISH BORDER.

TO

HIS GRACE

HENRY,

DUKE OF BUCCLEUCH, &c. &c. &c.

THESE TALES,

WHICH

IN ELDER TIMES HAVE CELEBRATED THE PROWESS,

AND

CHEERED THE HALLS,

OF

HIS GALLANT ANCESTORS,

ARE RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED

BY

HIS GRACE'S MUCH OBLIGED

AND

MOST HUMBLE SERVANT,

WALTER SCOTT.

INTRODUCTION.

From the remote period, when the Roman province was contracted by the ramparts of Severus, until the union of the kingdoms, the Borders of Scotland formed the stage, upon which were presented the most memorable conflicts of two gallant nations. The inhabitants, at the commencement of this æra, formed the first wave of the torrent, which assaulted, and finally overwhelmed, the barriers of the Roman power in Britain. The subsequent events, in which they were engaged, tended little to diminish their military hardihood, or to reconcile them to a more civilized state of society. We have no occasion to trace the state of the Borders during the long and obscure period of Scottish history, which preceded the accession of the Stuart family. To illustrate a few ballads, the

earliest of which is hardly coeval with James V., such an enquiry would he equally difficult and vain. If we may trust the Welch bards, in their account of the wars betwixt the Saxons and Danes of Deira and the Cumraig, imagination can hardly form any idea of conflicts more desperate, than were maintained, on the Borders, between the ancient British and their Teutonic invaders. Thus, the Gododin describes the waste and devastation of mutual havoc, in colours so glowing, as strongly to recal the words of Tacitus; "*Et ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant.*"*

At a later period, the Saxon families, who fled from the exterminating sword of the Conqueror, with many of the Normans themselves, whom discontent and intestine feuds had driven into exile,

* In the spirited translation of this poem, by Jones, the following verses are highly descriptive of the exhausted state of the victor army:—

At Madoc's tent the clarion sounds,
With rapid clangour hurried far:
Each echoing dell the note resounds—
But when return the sons of war!
Thou, born of stern Necessity,
Dull Peace! the desert yields to thee,
And owns thy melancholy sway.

began to rise into eminence upon the Scottish Borders. They brought with them arts, both of peace and of war, unknown in Scotland; and, among their descendants, we soon number the most powerful Border chiefs. Such, during the reign of the last Alexander, were Patrick, Earl of March, and 1249
Lord Soulis, renowned in tradition; and such were also the powerful Comyns, who early acquired the principal sway upon the Scottish marches. In the civil wars betwixt Bruce and Baliol, all those power- 1300
ful chieftains espoused the unsuccessful party. They were forfeited and exiled; and upon their ruins was founded the formidable house of Douglas. The Borders, from sea to sea, were now at the devotion of a succession of mighty chiefs, whose exorbitant power threatened to place a new dynasty upon the Scottish throne. It is not my intention to trace the dazzling career of this race of heroes, whose exploits were alike formidable to the English and to their own sovereign.

The sun of Douglas set in blood. The murders of the sixth Earl, and his brother, in the castle of Edinburgh, were followed by that of their successor, poniarded at Stirling by the hand of

his prince. His brother, Earl James, appears neither to have possessed the abilities nor the ambition of his ancestors. He drew, indeed, against his prince, the formidable sword of Douglas, but with a timid and hesitating hand. Procrastination ruined his cause; and he was deserted, at Abercorn, by the knight of Cadyow, chief of the Hamiltons, and by his most active adherents, after they had ineffectually exhorted him to commit his fate to the issue of a
1453 battle. The Border chiefs, who longed for independence, shewed little inclination to follow the decli-
1455 ning fortunes of Douglas. On the contrary, the most powerful clans engaged and defeated him, at Arkinholme, in Annandale, when, after a short residence in England, he again endeavoured to gain a footing in his native country.* The spoils of Douglas were liberally distributed among his conquerors, and royal grants of his forfeited domains effectually interested them in excluding his return. An
1457 attempt on the East Borders by "*the Percy and the* "*Douglas, both together,*" was equally unsuccess-

* At the battle of Arkinholme, the Earl of Angus, a near kinsman of Douglas, commanded the royal forces; and the

ful. The Earl, grown old in exile, longed once more to see his native country, and vowed, that, upon Saint Magdalen's day, he would deposit his 1483
offering on the high altar at Lochmaben. Accompanied by the banished Earl of Albany, with his usual fortune, he entered Scotland. The Borderers assembled to oppose him, and he suffered a final defeat at Burnswark, in Dumfries-shire. The aged Earl was taken in the fight, by a son of Kirkpatrick of Closeburn, one of his own vassals. A grant of lands had been offered for his person: "Carry me to the King!" said Douglas to Kirkpatrick: "thou art well entitled to profit by my misfortune; for thou wast true to me while I was true

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difference of their complexion occasioned the saying, "that the *Black Douglas* had put down the *Red*." The Maxwells, the Johnstones, and the Scotts, composed his army. Archibald, Earl of Murray, brother to Douglas, was slain in the action; and Hugh, Earl of Ormond, his second brother, was taken and executed. His captors, Lord Carlisle, and the Baron of Johnstone, were rewarded with a grant of the lands of Pittinane, upon Clyde.—*Godscroft*, vol. I. p. 375.—*Balfour's MS. in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh.*—*Abercrombie's Achievements*, vol. II. p. 361. *folio Edition.*—The other chiefs were also distinguished by royal favour. By a charter, upon record, dated 25th February, 1548, the king grants to Walter Scott of Kirkurd, ancestor of the house of Buccleuch, the lands of Abingtown, Pharcholm, and Glentonan craig, in

to myself." The young man wept bitterly, and offered to fly with the Earl into England. But Douglas, weary of exile, refused his proffered liberty, and only requested, that Kirkpatrick would not deliver him to the king, till he had secured his own reward.* Kirkpatrick did more: he stipu-

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Lanarkshire, "*Pro suo fideli servitio nobis impenso et pro quod "interfuit in conflictu de Arkinholme in occisione et captione "nostrorum rebellium quondam Archibaldi et Hugonis de Dou- "glas olim comitum Moraviæ et de Ormond et aliorum rebel- "lium nostrorum in eorum comitivia existen: ibidem captorum "et interfectorum.*" Similar grants of land were made to Finnart and Arran, the two branches of the house of Hamilton; to the chiefs of the Battisons; but above all, to the Earl of Angus, who obtained from royal favour a donation of the Lordship of Douglas, and many other lands, now held by Lord Douglas, as his representative. There appears, however, to be some doubt, whether, in this division, the Earl of Angus received more than his natural right. Our historians, indeed, say, that William I. Earl of Douglas, had three sons; 1. James, the 2d Earl, who died in the field of Otterburn; 2. Archibald the Grim, 3d Earl; and 3. George, in right of his mother, Earl of Angus. Whether, however, this Archibald was actually the son of William seems very doubtful; and Sir David Dalrymple has strenuously maintained the contrary. Now, if Archibald the Grim intruded into the earldom of Douglas, without being a son of that family, it follows that the house of Angus, being kept out of their just rights for more than a century, were only restored to them after the battle of Arkinholme. Perhaps this may help to account for the eager interest taken by the Earl of Angus against his kinsman.—*Remarks on History of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1773, p. 121.

* A grant of the king, dated 2d October, 1484, bestowed

lated for the personal safety of his old master. His generous intercession prevailed; and the last of the Douglasses was permitted to die, in monastic seclusion, in the Abbey of Lindores.

After the fall of the house of Douglas, no one chieftain appears to have enjoyed the same extensive supremacy over the Scottish Borders. The various barons, who had partaken of the spoil, combined in resisting a succession of uncontrouled domination. The Earl of Angus alone seems to have taken rapid steps in the same course of ambition, which had been pursued by his kinsmen and rivals, the Earls of Douglas. Archibald, sixth Earl of Angus, called *Bell-the-Cat*, was, at once, warden of the East and Middle Marches, Lord of Liddisdale, and Jedwood forest, and possessed of the strong castles of Douglas, Hermitage, and Tantallon. Highly esteemed by the ancient nobility, a faction which he headed shook the throne of the feeble James III., whose person they restrained, and whose minions

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upon Kirkpatrick, for this acceptable service, the lands of Kirkmichael.

they led to an ignominious death. The King failed not to shew his sense of these insults, though unable effectually to avenge them. This hastened his fate: and the field of Bannockburn, once the scene of a more glorious conflict, beheld the combined chieftains of the Border counties arrayed against their sovereign, under the banners of his own son. The King was supported by almost all the barons of the north; but the tumultuous ranks of the Highlanders were ill able to endure the steady and rapid charge of the men of Annandale and Liddisdale, who bare spears two ells longer than were used by the rest of their countrymen. The yells with which they accompanied their onset, caused the heart of James to quail within him. He de-
1488 serted his host, and fled towards Stirling; but, falling from his horse, he was murdered by the pursuers.

James IV., a monarch of a vigorous and energetic character, was well aware of the danger which his ancestors had experienced from the preponderance of one overgrown family. He is supposed to have smiled internally, when the Border and Highland champions bled and died in the savage sports

of chivalry, by which his nuptials were solemnized. Upon the waxing power of Angus he kept a wary eye; and, embracing the occasion of a casual slaughter, he compelled that Earl and his son to exchange the lordship of Liddisdale, and the castle of Hermitage, for the castle and lordship of Bothwell.*

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* Spens of Kilspindie, a renowned cavalier, had been present in court, when the Earl of Angus was highly praised for strength and valour. "It may be," answered Spens, "if all "be good that is upcome;" insinuating, that the courage of the Earl might not answer the promise of his person. Shortly after, Angus, while hawking near Borthwick, with a single attendant, met Kilspindie. "What reason had ye," said the Earl, "for making question of my manhood? thou art a tall "fellow, and so am I; and by St Bride of Douglas, one of us "shall pay for it!"—"Since it may be no better," answered Kilspindie, "I will defend myself against the best Earl in Scot-"land." With these words they encountered fiercely, till Angus, with one blow, severed the thigh of his antagonist, who died upon the spot. The Earl then addressed the attendant of Kilspindie: "Go thy way: tell my gossip, the King, that "here was nothing but fair play. I know my gossip will be of-"fended; but I will get me into Liddisdale, and remain in my "castle of the Hermitage till his anger be abated."—*Godscroft*, vol. ii. p. 59. The price of the Earl's pardon seems to have been the exchange mentioned in the text. Bothwell is now the residence of Lord Douglas. The sword with which Archibald, *Bell-the-cat*, slew Spens, was, by his descendant, the famous Earl of Morton, presented to Lord Lindsay of the Byres, when about to engage in single combat with Bothwell, at Carberry-hill.—*Godscroft*, vol. ii. p. 175.

By this policy, he prevented the house of Angus, mighty as it was, from rising to the height, whence the elder branch of their family had been hurled.

Nor did James fail in affording his subjects on the Marches marks of his royal justice and protec-
1510 tion. The clan of Turnbull having been guilty of unbounded excesses, the King came suddenly to Jedburgh, by a night march, and executed the most rigid justice upon the astonished offenders. Their submission was made with singular solemnity. Two hundred of the tribe met the King, at the water of Rule, holding in their hands the naked swords with which they had perpetrated their crimes, and having each around his neck the halter which he had well merited. A few were capitally punished, many imprisoned, and the rest dismissed, after they had given hostages for their future peaceable demeanour.—*Holinshed's Chronicle. Lesly.*

The hopes of Scotland, excited by the prudent and spirited conduct of James, were doomed to a sudden and fatal reverse. Why should we recapitulate the painful tale, of the defeat and death of a high-spirited prince? Prudence, policy, the prodigies of superstition, and the advice of his most

experienced counsellors, were alike unable to subdue in James the blazing zeal of romantic chivalry. The monarch, and the flower of his nobles, precipitately rushed to the fatal field of Flodden, 1513
whence they were never to return.

The minority of James V. presents a melancholy scene. Scotland, through all its extent, felt the truth of the adage, "that the country is hapless, whose prince is a child." But the Border counties, exposed from their situation to the incursions of the English, deprived of many of their most gallant chiefs, and harassed by the intestine struggles of the survivors, were reduced to a wilderness, inhabited only by the beasts of the field, and by a few more brutal warriors. Lord Home, the chamberlain and favourite of James IV., leagued with the Earl of Angus, who married the widow of his sovereign, held, for a time, the chief sway upon the East Border. Albany, the regent of the kingdom, bred in the French court, and more accustomed to wield the pen than the sword, feebly endeavoured to controul a lawless nobility, to whom his manners appeared strange, and his person despicable. It was in vain that he inveigled 1516

the Lord Home to Edinburgh, where he was tried and executed. This example of justice, or severity, only irritated the kinsmen and followers of the deceased baron: for though, in other respects, not more sanguinary than the rest of a barbarous nation, the Borderers never dismissed from their memory a deadly feud, till blood for blood had been exacted to the uttermost drachm.* Of this, the fate of Anthony d'Arcey, Seigneur de la Bastie, affords a melancholy example. This gallant French cavalier was appointed warden of the East Marches by Albany, at his first disgraceful retreat to France. Though De la Bastie was an able statesman, and a true son of chivalry, the choice of the regent was nevertheless unhappy. The new warden was
1517 a foreigner, placed in the office of Lord Home, as the delegate of the very man who had brought that baron to the scaffold. A stratagem, contrived

* The statute 1594, cap. 231, ascribes the disorders on the Border in a great measure to the "counselles, directions, re-"ceipt, and partaking, of chieftains principalles of the branches, "and househalders of the saides surnames, and clannes, quhilkis "bears quarrel, and seeks revenge for the least hurting or "slauchter of ony ane of their unhappy race, although it were "ordour of justice, or in rescuing and following of trew mens "geares stollen or reft."

by Home of Wedderburn, who burned to avenge the death of his chief, drew De la Bastie towards Langton in the Merse. Here he found himself surrounded by his enemies. In attempting, by the speed of his horse, to gain the castle of Dunbar, the warden plunged into a morass, where he was overtaken, and cruelly butchered. Wedderburn himself cut off his head; and, in savage triumph, knitted it to his saddle-bow by the long flowing hair, which had been admired by the dames of France.—*Pitscottie, Edit.* 1728, p. 130. *Pinkerton's History of Scotland*, vol. II. p. 169.*

The Earl of Arran, head of the house of Hamilton, was appointed to succeed De la Bastie in his perilous office. But the Douglasses, the Homes, and the Kerrs, proved too strong for him upon the Border. He was routed by these clans, at Kelso, and 1520
afterwards in a sharp skirmish, fought betwixt his

* This tragedy, or, perhaps, the preceding execution of Lord Home, must have been the subject of a song, the first two lines of which are preserved in the *Complaynt of Scotland;*

God sen' the Duc hed byddin in France,
And de la Bate had never come hame.
P. 100, Edin. 1801.

faction and that of Angus, in the High-street of the metropolis.*

The return of the regent was followed by the banishment of Angus, and by a desultory warfare

* The particulars of this encounter are interesting. The Hamiltons were the most numerous party, drawn chiefly from the western counties. Their leaders met in the palace of Archbishop Beaton, and resolved to apprehend Angus, who was come to the city to attend the convention of estates. Gawin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld, a near relation of Angus, in vain endeavoured to mediate betwixt the factions. He appealed to Beaton, and invoked his assistance to prevent bloodshed. "On my conscience," answered the archbishop, "I cannot help what is to happen." As he laid his hand upon his breast, at this solemn declaration, the hauberk, concealed by his rocket, was heard to clatter: "Ah! my lord!" retorted Douglas, "your conscience sounds hollow." He then expostulated with the secular leader, and Sir Patrick Hamilton, brother to Arran, was convinced by his remonstrances; but Sir James, the natural son of the earl, upbraided his uncle with reluctance to fight. "False bastard!" answered Sir Patrick, "I will fight to-day where thou darest not be seen." With these words they rushed tumultuously towards the High-street, where Angus, with the Prior of Coldinghame, and the redoubted Wedderburn, waited their assault, at the head of 400 spearmen, the flower of the East Marches, who, having broke down the gate of the Netherbow, had arrived just in time to the Earl's assistance. The advantage of the ground, and the disorder of the Hamiltons, soon gave the day to Angus. Sir Patrick Hamilton, and the Master of Montgomery, were slain. Arran, and Sir James Hamilton, escaped with difficulty; and with no less difficulty was the military prelate of Glasgow rescued from the ferocious Borderers, by the ge-

with England, carried on with mutual incursions. Two gallant armies, levied by Albany, were dismissed without any exploit worthy notice, while Surrey, at the head of ten thousand cavalry, burned Jedburgh, and laid waste all Tiviotdale. This general pays a splendid tribute to the gallantry of the Border chiefs. He terms them, "the boldest men, "and the hottest, that ever I saw any nation."* 1523

Disgraced and detested, Albany bade adieu to Scotland for ever. The queen-mother and the Earl of Arran for some time swayed the kingdom. But their power was despised on the Borders, where Angus, though banished, had many friends. Scot of Buccleuch even appropriated to himself domains belonging to the Queen, worth 400 merks yearly; being probably the castle of Newark, and her jointure lands in Ettrick Forest.†—This chief, with

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nerous interposition of Gawin Douglas. The skirmish was long remembered in Edinburgh, by the name of "Cleanse the Causeway."—PINKERTON'S *History*, vol. II. p. 181.—PITSCOTTIE, *Edit.* 1728, p. 120.—*Life of Gawain Douglas, prefixed to his Virgil.*

* A curious letter from Surrey to the king is printed in the Appendix, No. I.

† In a letter to the Duke of Norfolk, October 1524, Queen Margaret says, "Sen that the Lard of Sessford and the Lard

Kerr of Cessford, was committed to ward, from
1525 which they escaped, to join the party of the exiled Angus. Leagued with these, and other Border chiefs, Angus effected his return to Scotland, where he shortly after acquired possession of the supreme power, and of the person of the youthful King. "The ancient power of the Douglasses," says the accurate historian, whom I have so often referred to, "seemed to have revived; and, after a slumber "of near a century, again to threaten destruction "to the Scottish monarchy."—PINKERTON, vol. II. p. 277.

In fact, the time now returned, when no one durst strive with a Douglas, or with his follower. For, although Angus used the outward pageant of conducting the King around the country, for punishing thieves and traitors, "yet," says Pitscottie, "none "were found greater than were in his own com-"pany." The high spirit of the young King was

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"of Baclw vas put in the castell of Edinbrouh, the Erl of Len-"ness hath past hyz vay vythout lycyens, and in despyt; and "thynkyth to make the brek that he may, and to solyst other "lordis to tak hyz part; for the said laird of Bavklw vas hyz "man, and dyd the gretyst ewelyz that myght be dwn, and "twk part playnly vyth theffyz as is well known."—*Cot. MSS. Calig.* B. I.

galled by the ignominious restraint under which he found himself; and, in a progress to the Border, for repressing the Armstrongs, he probably gave such signs of dissatisfaction, as excited the Laird of Buccleuch to attempt his rescue.

This powerful baron was the chief of a hardy clan, 1526
inhabiting Ettrick Forest, Eskdale, Ewsdale, the higher part of Tiviotdale, and a portion of Liddesdale. In this warlike district he easily levied a thousand horse, comprehending a large body of Elliots, Armstrongs, and other broken clans, over whom the Laird of Buccleuch exercised an extensive authority; being termed, by Lord Dacre, "chief "maintainer of all misguided men on the Borders "of Scotland."—*Letter to Wolsey*, July 18, 1528. The Earl of Angus, with his reluctant ward, had slept at Melrose; and the clans of Home and Kerr, under the Lord Home, and the Barons of Cessford and Fairnihirst, had taken their leave of the King, when, in the grey of the morning, Buccleuch and his band of cavalry were discovered hanging, like a thunder-cloud, upon the neighbouring hill of Haliden.* A herald was sent to demand his purpose,

* Near Darnick. By a corruption from Skirmish field, the

and to charge him to retire. To the first point he answered, that he came to shew his clan to the King, according to the custom of the Borders; to the second, that he knew the King's mind better than Angus.—When this haughty answer was reported to the Earl, "Sir," said he to the King, "yonder is Buccleuch, with the thieves of Annandale "and Liddesdale, to bar your grace's passage. I 'vow to God they shall either fight or flee. Your 'grace shall tarry on this hillock with my brother 'George; and I will either clear your road of yon-"der banditti, or die in the attempt." The Earl, with these words, alighted, and hastened to the charge; while the Earl of Lennox (at whose instigation Buccleuch made the attempt,) remained with the King, an inactive spectator. Buccleuch and his followers likewise dismounted, and received the assailants with a dreadful shout, and a shower of lances. The encounter was fierce and obstinate; but the Homes and Kerrs, returning at the noise of

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spot is still called the Skinnersfield. Two lines of an old ballad on the subject are still preserved:

"There were sick belts and blows,
"The Mattous burn ran blood."

battle, bore down and dispersed the left wing of Buccleuch's little army. The hired banditti fled on all sides; but the chief himself, surrounded by his clan, fought desperately in the retreat. The Laird of Cessford, chief of the Roxburgh Kerrs, pursued the chase fiercely; till, at the bottom of a steep path, Elliot of Stobs, a follower of Buccleuch, turned, and slew him with a stroke of his lance. When Cessford fell, the pursuit ceased. But his death, with those of Buccleuch's friends, who fell in the action, to the number of eighty, occasioned a deadly feud betwixt the names of Scott and Kerr, which cost much blood upon the Marches.*—See *Pitscottie*, *Lesly*, and *Godscroft*.

Stratagem at length effected what force had been 1528
unable to accomplish; and the King, emancipated from the iron tutelage of Angus, made the first use of his authority, by banishing from the kingdom his

* Buccleuch contrived to escape forfeiture, a doom pronounced against those nobles, who assisted the Earl of Lennox, in a subsequent attempt to deliver the King, by force of arms. "The laird of Bukcleugh has a respecte, and is not forfeited; "and will get his pece, and was in Lethquo, both Sondaye, "Mondaye, and Tewisday last, which is grete displeasure to "the Carrei."—*Letter from Sir C. Dacre to Lord Dacre, 2d December*, 1526.

late lieutenant, and the whole race of Douglas. This command was not enforced without difficulty; for the power of Angus was strongly rooted in the East Border, where he possessed the castle of Tantallon, and the hearts of the Homes and Kerrs. The former, whose strength was proverbial,* defied a royal army; and the latter, at the Pass of Pease, baffled the Earl of Argyle's attempts to enter the Merse, as lieutenant of his sovereign. On this occasion, the Borderers regarded with wonder and contempt the barbarous array and rude equipage of their northern countrymen. Godscroft has preserved the beginning of a scoffing rhyme, made upon this occasion:

The Earl of Argyle is bound to ride
From the border of Edgebucklin brae; †
And all his habergeons him beside,
Each man upon a sonk of strae.

They made their vow that they would slay—
* * * * *

GODSCROFT, v. 2, p. 104, Edit. 1743.

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* "To ding down Tantallon, and make a bridge to the Bass," was an adage expressive of impossibility. The shattered ruins of this celebrated fortress still overhang a tremendous rock on the coast of East Lothian.

† Edgebucklin, near Musselburgh.

The pertinacious opposition of Angus to his doom irritated to the extreme the fiery temper of James, and he swore, in his wrath, that a Douglas should never serve him; an oath which he kept in circumstances, under which the spirit of chivalry which he worshipped* should have taught him other feelings.

While these transactions, by which the fate of Scotland was influenced, were passing upon the Eastern Border, the Lord Maxwell seems to have

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* I allude to the affecting story of Douglas of Kilspindie, uncle to the Earl of Angus. This gentleman had been placed by Angus about the King's person, who, when a boy, loved him much on account of his singular activity of body, and was wont to call him his *Graysteil*, after a champion of chivalry, in the romance of *Sir Eger and Sir Grime*. He shared, however, the fate of his chief, and, for many years, served in France. Weary at length of exile, the aged warrior, recollecting the King's personal attachment to him, resolved to throw himself on his clemency. As James returned from hunting in the park at Stirling, he saw a person at a distance, and, turning to his nobles, exclaimed, "Yonder is my *Gray-*" *steil*, Archibald of Kilspindie!" As he approached, Douglas threw himself on his knees, and implored permission to lead an obscure life in his native land. But the name of Douglas was an amulet, which steel'd the King's heart against the influence of compassion and juvenile recollection. He passed the suppliant without an answer, and rode briskly up the steep hill towards the castle. Kilspindie, though loaded with a hauberk under his clothes, kept pace with the horse, in vain en-

exercised a most uncontrouled domination in Dumfries-shire. Even the power of the Earl of Angus was exerted in vain against the banditti of Liddesdale, protected and bucklered by this mighty chief. Repeated complaints are made by the English residents, of the devastation occasioned by the depredations of the Elliots, Scots, and Armstrongs, connived at and encouraged by Maxwell, Buccleuch, and Fairnihirst. At a convention of Border commissioners, it was agreed that the King of England, in case the excesses of the Liddesdale freebooters were not duly redressed, should be at liberty to issue letters of reprisal to his injured subjects, granting "power to invade the said inhabitants of Lid-"desdale, to their slaughters, burning, heirships, "robbing, reifing, despoiling, and destruction, and

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deavouring to catch a glance from the implacable monarch. He sat down at the gate, weary and exhausted, and asked for a draught of water. Even this was refused by the royal attendants. The King afterwards blamed their discourtesy; but Kilspindie was obliged to return to France, where he died of a broken heart; the same disease which afterwards brought to the grave his unrelenting sovereign. Even the stern Henry VIII. blamed his nephew's conduct, quoting the generous saying, "A King's face should give grace."—GODSCROFT, vol. II. p. 107.

"so to continue the same at his Grace's pleasure," till the attempts of the inhabitants were fully atoned for. This impolitic expedient, by which the Scottish Prince, unable to execute justice on his turbulent subjects, committed to a rival sovereign the power of unlimited chastisement, was a principal cause of the savage state of the Borders. For the inhabitants, finding that the sword of revenge was substituted for that of justice, were loosened from their attachment to Scotland, and boldly threatened to carry on their depredations, in spite of the efforts of both kingdoms.

James V., however, was not backward in using more honourable expedients to quell the banditti on the Borders. The imprisonment of their chiefs, 1529
and a noted expedition, in which many of the principal thieves were executed (see introduction to the ballad, called *Johnie Armstrong*,) produced such good effects, that, according to an ancient picturesque history, "thereafter there was great peace "and rest a long time, where through the King had "great profit; for he had ten thousand sheep go-"ing in the Ettrick Forest, in keeping by Andrew "Bell, who made the King so good count of them

as they had gone in the bounds of Fife."—PITSCOTTIE, p. 153.

A breach with England interrupted the tranquil-
1532 lity of the Borders. The Earl of Northumberland, a formidable name to Scotland, ravaged the Middle Marches, and burned Branxholm, the abode of Buccleuch, the hereditary enemy of the English name. Buccleuch, with the Barons of Cessford and Fairnihirst, retaliated by a raid into England, where
1533 they acquired much spoil. On the East March, Fowbery was destroyed by the Scots, and Dunglass Castle by D'Arcy, and the banished Angus.

A short peace was quickly followed by another war, which proved fatal to Scotland, and to her King. In the battle of Haddenrig, the English, and the exiled Douglasses, were defeated by the Lords Huntly and Home; but this was a transient gleam of success. Kelso was burned, and the Bor-
1542 ders ravaged, by the Duke of Norfolk; and finally, the rout of Solway Moss, in which ten thousand men, the flower of the Scottish army, were dispersed and defeated by a band of five hundred English cavalry, or rather by their own dissentions, broke the proud heart of James; a death more

painful a hundred-fold than was met by his father in the field of Flodden.

When the strength of the Scottish army had sunk, without wounds, and without renown, the principal chiefs were led captive into England. Among these was the Lord Maxwell, who was compelled, by the menaces of Henry, to swear allegiance to the English monarch. There is still in existence the spirited instrument of vindication, by which he renounces his connection with England, and the honours and estates which had been proffered him, as the price of treason to his infant sovereign. From various bonds of manrent, it appears that all the Western Marches were swayed by this powerful chieftain. With Maxwell, and the other captives, returned to 1543
Scotland the banished Earl of Angus, and his brother, Sir George Douglas, after a banishment of fifteen years. This powerful family regained at least a part of their influence upon the Borders; and, grateful to the kingdom which had afforded them protection during their exile, became chiefs of the English faction in Scotland, whose object it was to urge a contract of marriage betwixt the young Queen and the heir apparent of England. The

impetuosity of Henry, the ancient hatred betwixt the nations, and the wavering temper of the Governor, Arran, prevented the success of this measure. The wrath of the disappointed monarch discharged itself in a wide-wasting and furious invasion of the East Marches, conducted by the Earl of Hertford. Seton, Home, and Buccleuch, hanging on the mountains of Lammermoor, saw, with ineffectual regret, the fertile plains of Merse and Lothian, and the metropolis itself, reduced to a smoking desert. Hertford had scarcely retreated with the main army, when Evers and Latoun laid waste the whole vale of Tiviot, with a ferocity of devastation hitherto unheard of.* The same "lion mode of wooing," being pursued during the minority of

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* In Hayne's State Papers, from p. 43 to p. 64, is an account of these destructive forays. One list of the places burned and destroyed enumerates—

Monasteries and Freehouses . .	7
Castles, towres, and piles . .	16
Market townes	5
Villages	243
Mylnes	13
Spytells and hospitals . . .	3

See also official accounts of these expeditions, in DALYELL's *Fragments.*

Edward VI., totally alienated the affections even of those Scots who were most attached to the English interest. The Earl of Angus, in particular, united himself to the Governor, and gave the English a sharp defeat at Ancram Moor, a particular account 1545
of which action is subjoined to the ballad, entitled, "*The Eve of St John.*" Even the fatal defeat at Pinkey, which at once renewed the carnage at Flodden, and the disgrace of Solway, served to prejudice the cause of the victors. The Borders saw, with dread and detestation, the ruinous fortress of Roxburgh once more receive an English garrison, and the widow of Lord Home driven from his baronial castle to make room for the "*Southern Reivers.*" Many of the barons made a reluctant submission 1547
to Somerset; but those of the higher part of the Marches remained among their mountains, meditating revenge. A similar incursion was made on the West Borders by Lord Wharton, who, with five thousand men, ravaged and overran Annandale, Nithsdale, and Galloway, compelling the inhabitants to receive the yoke of England.*

* Patten gives us a list of those East Border Chiefs who did homage to the Duke of Somerset, on the 24th of September,

The arrival of French auxiliaries, and of French gold, rendered vain the splendid successes of the English. One by one, the fortresses which they occupied were recovered by force, or by stratagem; and the vindictive cruelty of the Scottish Borderers made dreadful retaliation for the injuries they had sustained. An idea may be conceived of

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1547; namely, the Lairds of Cessforth, Fernyherst, Grenehead, Hunthill, Hundely, Makerstone, Bymerside, Bounjedworth, Ormeston, Mellestaines, Warmesay, Synton, Egerston, Merton, Mowe, Rydell, Beamerside. Of gentlemen, he enumerates George Tromboul, Jhon Haliburton, Robert Car, Robert Car of Greyden, Adam Kirton, Andrew Mether, Saunders Purvose of Erleston, Mark Car of Littledean, George Car of Faldenside, Alexander Mackdowal, Charles Rutherford, Thomas Car of the Yere, Jhon Car of Meynthorn (Nenthorn), Walter Holiburton, Richard Hangansyde, Andrew Car, James Douglas of Cavers, James Car of Mersington, George Hoppringle, William Ormeston of Emerden, John Grymslowe.—PATTEN, *in* DALYELL'S *Fragments*, p. 87.

On the West Border, the following barons and clans submitted and gave pledges to Lord Wharton, that they would serve the King of England, with the number of followers annexed to their names:—

ANNERDALE.		NITHSDALE.	
Laird of Kirkmighel	222	Mr Maxwell and more	1000
Rose	165	Laird of Closeburn	403
Hempsfield	163	Lag	202
Home Ends	162	Cransfield	27
Wamfrey	102	Mr Ed. Creighton	10
Dunwoddy	44	Laird of Cowhill	91

this horrible warfare, from the memoirs of Beaugé, a French officer, serving in Scotland.

The castle of Fairnihirst, situated about three miles above Jedburgh, had been taken and garri-

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ANNERDALE.		NITHSDALE.	
Laird of Newby and Gratney	122	Maxwells of Brackenside, and Vicar of Carlaverick	310
Tinnel (Tinwald)	102	ANNERDALE AND GALWAY.	
Patrick Murray . .	203	Lord Carlisle . .	101
Christie Urwin (Irving) of Coveshawe . .	102	ANNERDALE & CLIDSDALE.	
Cuthbert Urwen of Robbgill	34	Laird of Applegirth .	242
Urwens of Sennersack .	40	LIDDESDALE & DEBATEABLE LAND.	
Wat Urwen . . .	20	Armstrongs . .	300
Jeffrey Urwen . .	93	Elwoods (Elliots) .	74
T. Johnston of Crackburn	64	Nixons . . .	32
James Johnston of Coites	162	GALLOWAY.	
Johnstons of Craggyland	37	Laird of Dawbaylie .	41
Johnstons of Driesdell .	46	Orcherton . . .	111
Johnstons of Malinshaw	65	Carlisle . . .	206
Gawen Johnston . .	31	Loughenwar . . .	45
Will Johnston, the laird's brother . .	110	Tutor of Bombie .	140
Robin Johnston of Lochmaben . . .	67	Abbot of Newabbey .	141
Laird of Gillersbie .	30	Town of Dumfries .	201
Moffits . . .	96	Town of Kircabrie .	36
Bells of Tostints .	142	TIVIDALE.	
Bells of Tindills .	222	Laird of Drumlire .	364
Sir John Lawson .	32	Caruthers . . .	71
Town of Annan .	33	Trumbells . . .	12
Roomes of Tordephe .	32	ESKDALE.	
		Battisons and Thomsons	166

Total, 7008 men under English assurance.

Nicolson, from Bell's MS. Introduction to History of Cumberland, p. 65.

soned by the English. The commander and his followers are accused of such excesses of lust and cruelty, "as would," says Beaugé, "have made to "tremble the most savage Moor in Africa." A band of Frenchmen, with the Laird of Fairnihirst, and
1549 his Borderers, assaulted this fortress. The English archers showered their arrows down the steep ascent leading to the castle, and from the outer wall by which it was surrounded. A vigorous escalade, however, gained the base court, and the sharp fire of the French arquebusiers drove the bowmen into the square keep, or dungeon, of the fortress. Here the English defended themselves, till a breach in the wall was made by mining. Through this hole the commandant creeped forth; and, surrendering himself to De la Mothe-rouge, implored protection from the vengeance of the Borderers. But a Scottish Marchman, eyeing in the captive the ravisher of his wife, approached him ere the French officer could guess his intention, and, at one blow, carried his head four paces from the trunk. Above a hundred Scots rushed to wash their hands in the blood of their oppressor, bandied about the severed head, and expressed their joy in such shouts, as if they had stormed the city of London. The prisoners,

who fell into their merciless hands, were put to death, after their eyes had been torn out; the victors contending who should display the greatest address in severing their legs and arms, before inflicting a mortal wound. When their own prisoners were slain, the Scottish, with an unextinguishable thirst for blood, purchased those of the French; parting willingly with their very arms, in exchange for an English captive. "I myself," says Beaugé, with military sans-froid, "I myself sold them a prisoner for "a small horse. They laid him down upon the "ground, galloped over him with their lances in "rest, and wounded him as they passed. When "slain, they cut his body in pieces, and bore the "mangled gobbets, in triumph, on the points of "their spears. I cannot greatly praise the Scottish "for this practice. But the truth is, that the Eng-"lish tyrannized over the Borders in a most bar-"barous manner; and I think it was but fair to re-"pay them, according to the proverb, in their own "coin."—*Campagnes de Beaugé.*

A peace, in 1551, put an end to this war; the most destructive which, for a length of time, had ravaged Scotland. Some attention was paid by the

governor and queen-mother, to the administration of justice on the Border; and the chieftains, who had distinguished themselves during the late troubles, received the honour of knighthood.*

1552 At this time, also, the Debateable Land, a tract of country, situated betwixt the Esk and Sarke, claimed by both kingdoms, was divided by royal commissioners, appointed by the two crowns. By their award, this land of contention was separated by a line, drawn from east to west, betwixt the rivers. The upper half was adjudged to Scotland, and the more eastern part to England. Yet the Debateable Land continued long after to be the residence of thieves and banditti, to whom its dubious state had afforded a desirable refuge.†

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* These were the Lairds of Buccleuch, Cessford, and Fairnihirst, Littleden, Grenehed, and Coldingknows. Buccleuch, whose gallant exploits we have noticed, did not long enjoy his new honours. He was murdered in the streets of Edinburgh by his hereditary enemies, the Kerrs, anno 1552.

† The jest of James VI. is well known, who, when a favourite cow had found her way from Lo[illegible], back to her native country of Fife, observed, "that nothing surprised "him so much as her passing uninterrupted through the De-"bateable Land!"

In 1557, a new war broke out, in which rencounters on the Borders were, as usual, numerous, and with varied success. In some of these, the too famous Bothwell is said to have given proofs of his courage, which was at other times very questionable.* About this time the Scottish Borderers seem to have acquired some ascendancy over their southern neighbours.—STRYPE, vol. III.—In 1559, peace was again restored.

The flame of reformation, long stifled in Scotland, now burst forth, with the violence of a volcanic eruption. The siege of Leith was commenced by the combined forces of the Congregation and of England. The Borderers cared little about speculative points of religion; but they shewed them-

* He was Lord of Liddesdale, and keeper of the Hermitage Castle. But he had little effective power over that country, and was twice defeated by the Armstrongs, its lawless inhabitants.—*Border History*, p. 584. Yet the unfortunate Mary, in her famous Apology, says, "that in the weiris against Ingland, he gaif proof of his valyentes, courage, and gude conduct;" and praises him especially for subjugating "the rebellious subjectis inhabiting the cuntreis lying ewest the marches of Ingland."—*Keith*, p. 388. He appears actually to have defeated Sir Henry Percy, in a skirmish, called the Raid of Haltwellswire.

selves much interested in the treasures which passed through their country, for payment of the English forces at Edinburgh. Much alarm was excited, lest the Marchers should intercept these weighty protestant arguments; and it was, probably, by voluntarily imparting a share in them to Lord Home, that he became a sudden convert to the new faith.*

Upon the arrival of the ill-fated Mary in her native country, she found the Borders in a state of great disorder. The exertions of her natural brother (afterwards the famous regent Murray) were necessary to restore some degree of tranquillity. He marched to Jedburgh, executed twenty or thirty of the transgressors, burnt many houses, and brought a number of prisoners to Edinburgh. The chieftains of the principal clans were also obliged to grant pledges for their future obedience. A noted convention (for the particulars of which, see *Border*

* This nobleman had, shortly before, threatened to spoil the English East March; "but," says the Duke of Norfolk, "we "have provided such sauce for him, that I think he will not "deal in such matter; but, if he do fire but one hay-goff, he "shall not go to Home again without torch-light, and, per-"adventure, may find a lanthorn at his own house."

Laws, p. 84,) adopted various regulations, which were attended with great advantage to the Marches.*

The unhappy match betwixt Henry Darnley and his sovereign led to new dissensions on the Borders. The Homes, Kerrs, and other East Marchers, hastened to support the Queen, against Murray, Chatelherault, and other nobles, whom her marriage had offended. For the same purpose, the Johnstones, Jardines, and clans of Annandale, entered into bonds of confederacy. But Liddesdale was under the influence of England; in so much, that Randolph, the English minister, proposed to hire a band of *strapping Elliots*, to find Home business at home, in looking after his corn and cattle.—KEITH, p. 265. *App.* 133.

This storm was hardly overblown, when Bothwell received the commission of lieutenant upon the Borders; but, as void of parts as of principle, he could not even recover to the Queen's allegiance his own

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* The commissioners on the English side were, the elder Lord Scroope of Bolton, Sir John Foster, Sir Thomas Gargrave, and Dr Rookby. On the Scottish side appeared, Sir John Maxwell of Terreagles, and Sir John Bellenden.

domains in Liddesdale—KEITH, *App.* 165. The Queen herself advanced to the Borders, to remedy this evil, and to hold courts at Jedburgh. Bothwell was already in Liddesdale, where he had been severely wounded, in an attempt to seize John Elliot, of the Parke, a desperate freebooter; and happy had it been for Mary, had the dagger of the mosstrooper struck more home. Bothwell, being transported to his castle of Hermitage, the Queen, upon hearing the tidings, hastened thither. A dangerous morass, still called the *Queen's Mire*,* is pointed out by tradition as the spot where the lovely Mary, and her white palfrey, were in danger of perishing. The distance betwixt Hermitage and Jedburgh, by the way of Hawick, is nearly twenty-four

* The *Queen's Mire* is still a pass of danger, exhibiting, in many places, the bones of the horses which have been entangled in it. For what reason the Queen chose to enter Liddesdale by the circuitous route of Hawick, does not appear. There are two other passes from Jedburgh to Hermitage castle; the one by the *Note of the Gate*, the other over the mountain, called Winburgh. Either of these, but especially the latter, is several miles shorter than that by Hawick, and the Queen's Mire. But, by the circuitous way of Hawick, the Queen could traverse the districts of more friendly clans, than by going directly into the disorderly province of Liddesdale.

English miles. The Queen went and returned the same day. Whether she visited a wounded subject, or a lover in danger, has been warmly disputed in our latter days.

To the death of Henry Darnley, it is said, some of the Border lords were privy. But the subsequent marriage, betwixt the Queen and Bothwel, alienated from her the affections of the chieftains of the Marches, most of whom aided the association of the insurgent barons. A few gentlemen of the Merse, however, joined the army which Mary brought to Carberry-hill. But no one was willing to fight for the detested Bothwell, nor did Bothwell himself shew any inclination to put his person in jeopardy. The result to Mary was a rigorous captivity in Lochleven Castle; and the name of Bothwell scarcely again pollutes the page of Scottish history.

The distress of a beautiful and afflicted princess softened the hearts of her subjects; and, when she escaped from her severe captivity, the most powerful barons in Scotland crowded around her standard. Among these were many of the West Border

men, under the Lords Maxwell and Herries.* But the defeat at Langside was a death-blow to her interest in Scotland.

Not long afterwards occurred that period of general confusion on the Borders, when the insurrection of the catholic Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland took place upon the Borders of England. Their tumultuary forces were soon dispersed, and the Earls themselves, with their principal followers, sought refuge upon the Scottish Marches. Northumberland was betrayed into the hands of the regent; but Westmoreland, with his followers, took refuge in the castle of Fairnihirst, where he was protected by its powerful owner. The regent himself came to Jedburgh, to obtain possession of these important pledges; but as he marched towards the castle of Fairnihirst, his men shrunk from him by degrees, till he was left with a small body of his own personal dependants, inadequate to the task for which he had undertaken the expedition. Westmoreland afterwards escaped to Flanders by sea. Robert

* The followers of these barons are said to have stolen the horses of their friends, while they were engaged in the battle.

Constable, a spy sent by Sir Ralph Sadler into Scotland, gives a lively account of the state of the Borders at this time.*

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* He was guided by one Pyle of Millheuch, (upon Oxnam water,) and gives the following account of his conversation with him on the state of the country, and the power of his master, the Baron of Fairnihirst:—"By the way as we rode, I tould my oste that the Lord of Farneherst, his master, had taken such an entreprise in hand as not a subject in England durst do the like, to kepe any mann openly as he did the Earle of Westmorland, against the will of the chief in auctoritie. He said that his master cared not so much for the regent as the regent cared for him, for he was well able to raise iij thousand men within his own rule, beside that his first wief, by whom he hed goodly children, was daughter to the Lord Grange, Captaine of Edenborowe Castell, and Provost of Edenborowe. This wief that he married lately is sister to the Lord of Bucclewghe, a man of greater power then his master; also my Lord Hume, and almost all the gentlemen in Tevydale, the Marsh, and Lowdyan, were knitt together in such friendship that they are agred all to take one part; and that the Lord Grange was offended with the Lord Hume and the Lord Farneherst, because they toke not the Earle of Northumberland from my lord regent at Gedworthe, and sent plane word to the Lord Farneherst, that if the lord regent came any more to seeke him in Tevydale, he should lose all his bulles, both the duke, the Lord Herris, the secretary, and others, he should sett them all at libertye that would come with all their power, with good will, to take his part; and by as much as I hear since, the Tevydale menn pretends to do the anoyances that they can to England, so sone as this stormc is past, and meanes not to answer to any day of truce."

The death of the regent Murray, in 1569, excited the party of Mary to hope and to exertion. It seems, that the design of Bothwellhaugh, who slew him, was well known upon the Borders; for, the very day on which the slaughter happened, Buccleuch and Fairnihirst, with their clans, broke into England, and spread devastation along the frontiers, with unusual ferocity. It is probable they well knew that the controuling hand of the regent was that day palsied by death. Buchanan exclaims loudly against

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Another passage presents a lively picture of the inside of the outlaw's cabin:—"I left Farneherst, and went to my ostes house, where I found many gests of dyvers factions, some outlawes of Ingland, some of Scotland, some neighbors therabout, at cards; some for ale, some for plake and hardhedds; and after that I had diligently learned and enquired that there was none of any surname that had me in deadly fade, nor none that knew me, I sat downe, and plaid for hardhedds emongs them, where I hard, *vox populi*, that the lord regent would not, for his own honor, nor for thonor of his countery, deliver the earles, if he had them bothe, unlest it were to have there quene delivered to him, and if he wold agre to make that change, the Borderers wold stert up in his contrary, and reave both the quene and the lords from him, for the like shame was never done in Scotland; and that he durst better eate his owne luggs then come again to seke Farneherst; if he did, he should be fought with ere he came over Sowtrey edge. Hector of Tharlowes hedd was wished to have been eaten amongs us at supper."—SADLER's *State Papers, Edin.* 1809, vol. II. pp. 384, 388.

this breach of truce with Elizabeth, charging Queen Mary's party with having "houndit furth proude "and uncircumspecte young men, to hery, burne, "and slay, and tak prisoners, in her realme, and use "all misordour and crueltie, not only usit in weir, "but detestabil to all barbar and wild Tartaris, in "slaying of prisoneris, and contrair to all humanitie "and justice, keeping na promeis to miserabil cap-"tives resavit anis to thair mercy."—*Admonitioun to the trew Lordis, Striveling*, 1571. He numbers, among these insurgents, Highlanders as well as Borderers, Buccleuch and Fairnihirst, the Johnstons and Armstrongs, the Grants, and the clan Chattan. Besides these powerful clans, Mary numbered among her adherents the Maxwells, and almost all the West Border leaders, excepting Drumlanrig, and Jardine of Applegirth. On the Eastern Border, the faction of the infant King was more powerful; for, although deserted by Lord Home, the greater part of his clan, under the influence of Wedderburn, remained attached to that party. The Laird of Cessford wished them well, and the Earl of Angus naturally followed the steps of his uncle Morton. A sharp and bloody invasion of the Middle March, under the command of the Earl of Sussex, avenged with inte-

rest the raids of Buccleuch and Fairnihirst. The domains of these chiefs were laid waste, their castles burnt and destroyed. The narrow vales of Beaumont and Kale, belonging to Buccleuch, were treated with peculiar severity; and the forrays of Hertford were equalled by that of Sussex. In vain did the chiefs request assistance from the government to defend their fortresses. Through the predominating interest of Elizabeth in the Scottish councils, this was refused to all but Home, whose castle, nevertheless, again received an English garrison; while Buccleuch and Fairnihirst complained bitterly that those, who had instigated their invasion, durst not even come so far as Lauder, to shew countenance to their defence against the English. The bickerings, which followed, distracted the whole kingdom. One celebrated exploit may be selected, as an illustration of the Border fashion of war.

The Earl of Lennox, who had succeeded Murray in the regency, held a parliament at Stirling, in 1571. The young King was exhibited to the great council of his nation. He had been tutored to repeat a set speech, composed for the occasion; but, observing that the roof of the building was a little

decayed, he interrupted his recitation, and exclaimed, with childish levity, "that there was a hole in the parliament,"—words which, in those days, were held to presage the deadly breach shortly to be made in that body, by the death of him in whose name it was convoked.

Amid the most undisturbed security of confidence, the lords who composed this parliament were roused at day-break by the shouts of their enemies in the heart of the town. *God and the Queen!* resounded from every quarter, and, in a few minutes, the regent, with the astonished nobles of his party, were prisoners to a band of two hundred Border cavalry, led by Scott of Buccleuch, and to the Lord Claud Hamilton, at the head of three hundred infantry. These enterprizing chiefs, by a rapid and well-concerted manœuvre, had reached Stirling in a night march from Edinburgh, and without so much as being bayed at by a watch-dog, had seized the principal street of the town. The fortunate obstinacy of Morton saved his party. Stubborn and undaunted, he defended his house till the assailants set it in flames, and then yielded with reluctance to his kinsman, Buccleuch. But the time which he had gain-

ed effectually served his cause. The Borderers had dispersed to plunder the stables of the nobility; the infantry thronged tumultuously together on the main street, when the Earl of Mar, issuing from the castle placed one or two small pieces of ordnance in his own half-built house,* which commands the market place. Hardly had the artillery begun to scour the street, when the assailants, surprised in their turn, fled with precipitation. Their alarm was increased by the townsmen thronging to arms. Those who had been so lately triumphant, were now, in many instances, asking the protection of their own prisoners. In all probability, not a man would have escaped death, or captivity, but for the characteristic rapacity of Buccleuch's marauders, who, having seized and carried off all the horses in the town, left the victors no means of following the chace. The regent was slain by an officer, named Caulder, in order to prevent his being rescued. Spens of Ormiston, to whom he had surrendered, lost his life in

* This building still remains in the unfinished state which it then presented.

a generous attempt to protect him.* Hardly does our history present another enterprize, so well planned, so happily commenced, and so strangely disconcerted. To the licence of the Marchmen the failure was attributed; but the same cause ensured a safe retreat.—SPOTTISWOODE, GODSCROFT, ROBERTSON, MELVILLE.

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* Birrel says, that "the regent was shot by an unhappy fellow, while sitting on horseback behind the Laird of Buccleuch."—The following curious account of the whole transaction, is extracted from a journal of principal events, in the years 1570, 1571, 1572, and part of 1573, kept by Richard Bannatyne, amanuensis to John Knox. "The fourt of September, they of Edinburgh, horsemen and futmen (and, as was reported, the most part of Clidisdaill, that pertenit to the Hamiltons), come to Striveling, the number of iii or iiii c men, on hors bak, guydit be ane George Bell, their hacbutteris being all horsed, enterit in Striveling, be fyve houris in the morning (whair thair was never one to mak watche), crying this slogane, 'God and the Queen! ane Hamiltoune! think on the Bishop of St Androis, all is owres;' and so a certaine come to everie grit manis ludgene, and apprehendit the Lordis Mortoun and Glencarne; but Mortounis hous they set on fyre, wha randerit him to the Laird of Balcleuch. Wormestoun being appointed to the regentes hous, desyred him to cum furth, which he had no will to doe, yet, be perswasione of Garleys and otheris, with him, tho't it best to come in will, nor to byde the extremitie, becaus they suppoosed there was no resistance, and swa the regent come furth, and was randered to Wormestoune, under promeis to save his lyfe. Captane Crawfurde, being in the town, gat sum men out of the castell, and uther gentlemen being in the

The wily Earl of Morton, who, after the short intervening regency of Mar, succeeded to the supreme authority, contrived, by force or artifice, to render the party of the King every where superior.

" town, come as they my't best to the geat, chased them out
" of the town. The regent was shot by ane Captain Cader,
" who confessed that he did it at commande of George Bell,
" wha was commandit so to doe be the Lord Huntlie and Claud
" Hamilton. Some says, that Wormestoun was schot by the
" same schot that slew the regent, but alwayis he was slane,
" notwithstanding the regent cryed to save him, but it culd
" not be, the furie was so grit of the persewaris, who follow-
" ing so fast, the Lord of Mortone said to Buccleuch, 'I sall
" save you as you savit me,' and so he was tane. Garleys,
" and sindrie otheris, war slane at the port, in the persute of
" thame. Thair war ten or twelve gentlemen slane of the
" king's folk, and als mony of theiris, or mea, as was said,
" and a dozen or xvi tane. Twa especiall servantis of the
" Lord Argyle's were slane also. This Cader, that schot the
" regent, was once turned bak off the toune, and was send
" again (as is said), be the Lord Huntlie, to cause Wormis-
" toun retire; but, before he come agane, he was dispatched,
" and had gottin deidis woundis.

"The regent being schot (as said is), was brought to the cas-
" tel, whar he callit for ane phisitione, one for his soule, ane
" uther for his bodie. But all hope of life was past, for he was
" schot in his entreallis; and swa, after sumthingis spokin to
" the lordis, which I know not, he departed in the feare of
" God, and made a blessed end; whilk the rest of the lordis,
" that tho't thame to his hiert, and lytle reguardit him, shall
" not make so blised an end, unles they mend their maneirs."

This curious manuscript has been published, under the inspection of John Graham Dalyell, Esq.

Even on the Middle Borders, he had the address to engage in his cause the powerful, though savage and licentious, clans of Rutherford and Turnbull, as well as the citizens of Jedburgh. He was thus enabled to counterpoise his powerful opponents, Buccleuch and Fairnihirst, in their own country; and, after an unsuccessful attempt to surprise Jedburgh, even these warm adherents of Mary relinquished her cause in despair.

While Morton swayed the state, his attachment to Elizabeth, and the humiliation which many of the Border chiefs had undergone, contributed to maintain good order on the Marches, till James VI. himself assumed the reins of government. The intervening skirmish of the Reidswire, (see the Ballad under that title) was but a sudden explosion of the rivalry and suppressed hatred of the Borderers of both kingdoms. In truth, the stern rule of Morton, and of his delegates, men unconnected with the Borders by birth, maintained in that country more strict discipline than had ever been there exercised. Perhaps this hastened his fall.

The unpopularity of Morton, acquired partly by the strict administration of justice, and partly by avarice and severity, forced him from the regency.

In 1578, he retired, apparently, from state affairs, to his castle of Dalkeith; which the populace, emphatically expressing their awe and dread of his person, termed the *Lion's Den*. But Morton could not live in retirement; and, early in the same year, the aged lion again rushed from his cavern. By a mixture of policy and violence, he possessed himself of the fortress of Stirling, and of the person of James. His nephew, Angus, hastened to his assistance. Against him appeared his follower Cessford, with many of the Homes, and the citizens of Edinburgh. Alluding to the restraint of the king's person, they bore his effigy on their banners, with a rude rhyme, demanding liberty or death.—BIRREL'S *Diary, ad annum*, 1578. The Earl of Morton marched against his foes as far as Falkirk, and a desperate action must have ensued, but for the persuasion of Bowes, the English ambassador. The only blood, then spilt, was in a duel betwixt Tait, a follower of Cessford, and Johnstone, a West Border man, attending upon Angus. They fought with lances, and on horseback, according to the fashion of the Borders. The former was unhorsed and slain, the latter desperately wounded.—GODSCROFT, vol. II. p. 261. The prudence of the late

regent appears to have abandoned him, when he was decoyed into a treaty upon this occasion. It was not long before Morton, the veteran warrior, and the crafty statesman, was forced to bend his neck to an engine of death,* the use of which he himself had introduced into Scotland.

Released from the thraldom of Morton, the King, with more than youthful levity, threw his supreme power into the hands of Lennox and Arran. The religion of the first, and the infamous character of the second favourite, excited the hatred of the commons, while their exclusive and engrossing power awakened the jealousy of the other nobles. James, doomed to be the sport of contending factions, was seized at Stirling by the nobles, confederated in what was termed the Raid of Ruthven. But the conspirators soon suffered their prize to escape, and were rewarded for their enterprize by exile or death.

In 1585, an affray took place at a Border meeting, in which Lord Russel, the Earl of Bedford's eldest son, chanced to be slain. Queen Elizabeth

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* A rude sort of guillotine, called the *maiden*. The implement is now in possession of the Society of Scottish Antiquaries.

imputed the guilt of this slaughter to Thomas Ker of Fairnihirst, instigated by Arran. Upon the imperious demand of the English ambassador, both were committed to prison; but the minion, Arran, was soon restored to liberty and favour; while Fairnihirst, the dread of the English Borderers, and the gallant defender of Queen Mary, died in his confinement, of a broken heart.—SPOTTISWOODE, p. 341.

The tyranny of Arran becoming daily more insupportable, the exiled lords, joined by Maxwell, Home, Bothwell, and other Border chieftains, seized the town of Stirling, which was pillaged by their disorderly followers, invested the castle, which surrendered at discretion, and drove the favourite from the king's council. *

The King, perceiving the Earl of Bothwell among the armed barons, to whom he surrendered his person, addressed him in these prophetic words:—

* The associated nobles seem to have owed their success chiefly to the Border spearmen; for, though they had a band of mercenaries, who used fire-arms, yet they were such bad masters of their craft, their captain was heard to observe, "that "those, who knew his soldiers as well as he did, would hardly chuse to *march before them.*"—GODSCROFT, v. ii. p. 36

"Francis, Francis, what moved thee to come in "arms against thy prince, who never wronged thee? "I wish thee a more quiet spirit, else I foresee thy "destruction."—SPOTTISWOODE, p. 343.

In fact, the extraordinary enterprizes of this nobleman disturbed the next ten years of James's reign. Francis Stuart, son to a bastard of James V., had been invested with the titles and estates belonging to his maternal uncle, James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, upon the forfeiture of that infamous man; and consequently became Lord of Liddesdale, and of the castle of Hermitage. This acquisition of power upon the Borders, where he could easily levy followers willing to undertake the most desperate enterprize, joined to the man's native daring and violent spirit, rendered Bothwell the most turbulent insurgent that ever disturbed the tranquillity of a kingdom. During the King's absence in Denmark, Bothwell, swayed by the superstition of his age, had tampered with certain soothsayers and witches, by whose pretended art he hoped to foretell, or perhaps to achieve, the death of his monarch. In one of the courts of inquisition, which James delighted to hold upon the professors of the occult sciences, some of

his cousin's proceedings were brought to light, for which he was put in ward in the castle of Edinburgh. Burning with revenge, he broke from his confinement, and lurked for some time upon the Borders, where he hoped for the countenance of his son-in-law, Buccleuch. Undeterred by the absence of that chief, who, in obedience to the royal command, had prudently retired to France, Bothwell attempted the desperate enterprize of seizing the person of the King, while residing in his metropolis. At the dead of the night, followed by a band of Borderers, he occupied the court of the palace of Holyrood, and began to burst open the doors of the royal apartments. The nobility, distrustful of each other, and ignorant of the extent of the conspiracy, only endeavoured to make good the defence of their separate lodgings; but darkness and confusion prevented the assailants from profiting by their disunion. Melville, who was present, gives a lively picture of the scene of disorder, transiently illuminated by the glare of passing torches; while the report of fire-arms, the clatter of armour, the din of hammers thundering on the gates, mingled wildly with the war-cry of the Borderers, who shouted in-

ceasantly, "Justice! Justice! A Bothwell! A "Bothwell!" The citizens of Edinburgh at length began to assemble for the defence of their sovereign; and Bothwell was compelled to retreat, which he did without considerable loss.—MELVILLE, p. 356. A similar attempt on the person of James, while residing at Faulkland, also misgave; but the credit which Bothwell obtained on the Borders, by these bold and desperate enterprizes, was incredible. "All "Tiviotdale," says Spottiswoode, "ran after him;" so that he finally obtained his object; and at Edinburgh, in 1593, he stood before James, an unexpected apparition, with his naked sword in his hand. "Strike!" said James, with royal dignity—"Strike, "and end thy work! I will not survive my disho- "nour." But Bothwell, with unexpected moderation, only stipulated for remission of his forfeiture, and did not even insist on remaining at court, whence his party was shortly expelled, by the return of the Lord Home, and his other enemies. Incensed at this reverse, Bothwell levied a body of four hundred cavalry, and attacked the King's guard in broad day, upon the Borough Moor near Edinburgh. The ready succour of the citizens saved James from fall-

ing once more into the hands of his turbulent subject.* On a subsequent day, Bothwell met the Laird of Cessford, riding near Edinburgh, with whom he fought a single combat, which lasted for two hours.† But his credit was now fallen; he retreated to England, whence he was driven by Elizabeth, and then wandered to Spain and Italy, where he subsisted, in indigence and obscurity, on the bread which he earned by apostatizing to the faith of Rome. So fell this agitator of domestic broils, whose name passed into a proverb, denoting a powerful and turbulent demagogue.‡

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* Spottiswoode says, the King awaited this charge with firmness; but Birrell avers, that he fled upon the gallop. The same author, instead of the firm deportment of James, when seized by Bothwell, describes "the king's majestie as flying "down the back stair, with his breeches in his hand, in great "fear."—BIRRELL, *apud* DALYELL, p. 30. Such is the difference betwixt the narrative of the courtly archbishop, and that of the presbyterian burgess of Edinburgh.

† This rencounter took place at Humbie, in East Lothian. Bothwell was attended by a servant, called Gibson, and Cessford by one of the Rutherfords, who was hurt in the cheek. The combatants parted from pure fatigue; for the defensive armour of the times was so completely impenetrable, that the wearer seldom sustained much damage by actual wounds.

‡ Sir Walter Ralcigh, in writing of Essex, then in prison,

While these scenes were passing in the metropolis, the Borders were furiously agitated by civil discord. The families of Cessford and Fairnihirst disputed their right to the wardenry of the Middle Marches, and to the provostry of Jedburgh; and William Kerr of Ancram, a follower of the latter, was murdered by the young chief of Cessford, at the instigation of his mother.—SPOTTISWOODE, p. 388. But this was trifling, compared to the civil war waged on the western frontier, between the Johnstons and Maxwells, of which there is a minute account in the introduction to the ballad, entitled, "*Maxwell's Goodnight.*" Prefixed to that termed "*Kinmont Willie,*" the reader will find an account of the last warden raids performed upon the Border.

My sketch of Border history now draws to a close. The accession of James to the English crown converted the extremity into the centre of his kingdom.

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says, "Let the queen hold *Bothwell* while she hath him."—MURDIN, vol. II. p. 812. It appears from CREICHTON'S *Memoirs*, that Bothwell's grandson, though so nearly related to the royal family, actually rode a private in the Scottish horse guards, in the reign of Charles II.—*Edinburgh*, 1731, p. 42.

The East Marches of Scotland were, at this momentous period, in a state of comparative civilization. The rich soil of Berwickshire soon invited the inhabitants to the arts of agriculture. Even in the days of Lesley, the nobles and barons of the Merse differed in manners from the other Borderers, administered justice with regularity, and abstained from plunder and depredation.—*De moribus Scotorum*, p. 7. But on the Middle and Western Marches, the inhabitants were unrestrained moss-troopers and cattle-drivers, knowing no measure of law, says Camden, but the length of their swords. The sterility of the mountainous country which they inhabited, offered little encouragement to industry; and, for the long series of centuries which we have hastily reviewed, the hands of rapine were never there folded in inactivity, nor the sword of violence returned to the scabbard. Various proclamations were in vain issued for interdicting the use of horses and arms upon the West Border of England and Scotland.*

* "Proclamation shall be made, that all inhabiting within "Tynedale and Riddesdale, in Northumberland; Bewcastle-"dale, Willgavey, the north part of Gilsland, Esk, and Leven, "in Cumberland; East and West Tividale, Liddesdale, Esk-

The evil was found to require the radical cure of extirpation. Buccleuch collected under his banners the most desperate of the Border warriors, of whom he formed a legion, for the service of the states of Holland, who had as much reason to rejoice on their arrival upon the continent, as Britain to congratulate herself upon their departure. It may be presumed, that few of this corps ever returned to their native country. The clan of Græme, a hardy and ferocious set of freebooters, inhabiting chiefly the Debateable Land, by a very summary exertion of authority, was transported to Ireland, and their return prohibited under pain of death. Against other offenders, measures, equally arbitrary, were without hesitation pursued. Numbers of Border riders were executed, without even the formality of a trial;

" dale, Ewedale, and Annerdale, in Scotland (saving noblemen " and gentlemen unsuspected of felony and theft, and not be- " ing of broken clans, and their household servants, dwelling " within those several places, before recited,) shall put away " all armour and weapons, as well offensive as defensive, as " jacks, spears, lances, swords, daggers, steel-caps, hack-buts, " pistols, plate sleeves, and such like; and shall not keep any " horse, gelding, or mare, above the value of fifty shillings " sterling, or thirty pounds Scots, upon the like pain of im- " prisonment."—*Proceedings of the Border Commissioners*, 1605—*Introduction to History of Cumberland*, p. 127.

and it is even said, that, in mockery of justice, assizes were held upon them after they had suffered. For these acts of tyranny, see JOHNSTON, p. 374, 414, 39, 93. The memory of Dunbar's legal proceedings at Jedburgh, are preserved in the proverbial phrase, *Jeddart Justice*, which signifies, trial after execution.* By this rigour, though sternly and unconscientiously exercised, the Border marauders were, in the course of years, either reclaimed or exterminated; though nearly a century elapsed ere their manners were altogether assimilated to those of their countrymen.†

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* A similar proverb in England of the same interpretation is *Lydford Law*, derived from Lydford, a corporation in Devonshire, where it seems the same irregular administration of justice prevailed. A burlesque copy of verses on this town begins,

I oft have heard of Lydford Law,
How in the morn they hang and draw,
And sit in judgment after.

See WESTCOTT's *History of Devonshire.*

† See the acts 18 Cha. II. ch. 3. and 30 Cha. II. ch. 2. against the Border Moss-troopers, to which we may add the following curious extracts from *Mercurius Politicus*, a newspaper, published during the usurpation.

"*Thursday, November* 11, 1652.

"Edinburgh.—The Scotts and Moss-troopers have again

In these hasty sketches of Border history, I have endeavoured to select such incidents, as may introduce to the reader the character of the Marchmen, more briefly and better than a formal essay upon their manners. If I have been successful in the at-

"revived their old custom of robbing and murthering the Eng-
"lish, whether soldiers or other, upon all opportunities, with-
"in these three weeks. We have had notice of several robbe-
"ries and murders, committed by them. Among the rest, a
"lieutenant, and one other of Col. Overton's regiment, return-
"ing from England, were robbed not far from Dunbarr. A
"lieutenant, lately master of the customs at Kirkcudbright,
"was killed about twenty miles from this place; and four foot
"soldiers of Col. Overton's were killed, going to their quar-
"ters, by some mossers, who, after they had given them quar-
"ter, tied their hands behind them, and then threw them
"down a steep hill, or rock, as it was related by a Scotch-
"man, who was with them, but escaped."

Ibidem.—"*October* 13, 1663.—The Parliament, October
"12, past an act, declaring, any person that shall discover any
"felon, or felons (commonly called, or known, by the name
"of Moss-troopers,) residing upon the Borders of England
"and Scotland, shall have a reward of ten pound upon their
"conviction."

tempt, he is already acquainted with the mixture of courage and rapacity by which they were distinguished, and has reviewed some of the scenes in which they acted a principal part. It is, therefore, only necessary to notice, more minutely, some of their peculiar customs and modes of life.

Their morality was of a singular kind. The rapine, by which they subsisted, they accounted lawful and honourable. Ever liable to lose their whole substance, by an incursion of the English on a sudden breach of truce, they cared little to waste their time in cultivating crops to be reaped by their foes. Their cattle was, therefore, their chief property; and these were nightly exposed to the southern Borderers, as rapacious and active as themselves. Hence robbery assumed the appearance of fair reprisal. The fatal privilege of pursuing the maurauders into their own country, for recovery of stolen goods, led to continual skirmishes. The warden also, himself frequently the chieftain of a Border horde, when redress was not instantly granted by the opposite officer, for depredations sustained by his district, was entitled to retaliate upon England by a warden raid.

In such cases, the moss-troopers, who crowded to his standard, found themselves pursuing their craft under legal authority, and became the favourites and followers of the military magistrate, whose ordinary duty it was to check and suppress them. See the curious history of *Geordie Bourne*, *App.* No. II. Equally unable and unwilling to make nice distinctions, they were not to be convinced, that what was to-day fair booty, was to-morrow a subject of theft. National animosity usually gave an additional stimulus to their rapacity; although it must be owned that their depredations extended also to the more cultivated parts of their own country.*

Satchells, who lived when the old Border ideas of *meum* and *tuum* were still in some force, endeavours to draw a very nice distinction betwixt a

* The armorial bearings, adopted by many of the Border tribes, shew how little they were ashamed of their trade of rapine. Like *Falstaff*, they were "Gentlemen of the night, "minions of the moon," under whose countenance they committed their depredations.—Hence, the emblematic moons and stars so frequently charged in the arms of Border families. Their mottoes also bear an allusion to their profession:—"*Re-*"*parabit cornua Phœbe*," i. e. "We'll have moon-light again," is that of the family of Harden. "Ye shall want, ere I want," that of Cranstoun. "Watch weel," of Haliburton, &c.

freebooter and a thief; and thus sings he of the Armstrongs:

> On that Border was the Armstrongs, able men;
> Somewhat unruly, and very ill to tame.
> I would have none think that I call them thieves,
> For, if I did, it would be arrant lies.
> — — — — —
> Near a Border frontier, in the time of war,
> There's ne'er a man but he's a freebooter.
> — — — — —
> Because to all men it may appear,
> The freebooter he is a volunteer;
> In the muster-rolls he has no desire to stay;
> He lives by purchase, he gets no pay.
> — — — — —
> It's most clear, a freebooter doth live in hazard's train;
> A freebooter's a cavalier that ventures life for gain:
> But, since King James the Sixth to England went,
> There has been no cause of grief;
> And he that hath transgress'd since then,
> Is no *Freebooter*, but a *Thief*.
>
> *History of the Name of Scott.*

The inhabitants of the inland counties did not understand these subtle distinctions. Sir David Lindsay, in the curious drama, published by Mr Pinkerton, introduces, as one of his *dramatis personæ*, *Common Thift*, a Borderer, who is supposed to come to Fife to steal the Earl of Rothes' best hackney, and Lord Lindsay's brown jennet. *Oppression*, also (another personage there introduced),

seems to be connected with the Borders; for, finding himself in danger, he exclaims,—

War God that I were sound and haill,
Now liftit into Liddesdail;
The Mers sowld fynd me beif and caill,
What rack of breid?
War I thair lyftit with my lyfe,
The devill sowld styk me with a knyffe,
An' ever I cum agane in Fyfe,
Till I were deid.—

PINKERTON'S *Scottish Poems*, vol. II. p. 180.

Again, when *Common Thift* is brought to condign punishment, he remembers his Border friends in his dying speech:

The widdefow wardanis tuik my geir,
And left me nowthir horse nor meir,
Nor erdly guid that me belangit;
Now, walloway! I mon be hangit.
— — — — —
Adew! my bruthir Annan thieves,
That holpit me in my mischievis;
Adew! Grossars, Niksonis, and Bells,
Oft have we fairne owrthreuch the fells:
Adew! Robsons, Howis, and Pylis,
That in our craft hes mony wilis:
Littlis, Trumbells, and Armestranges;
Adew! all theeves, that me belangis;
Baileowes, Erewynis, and Elwandis,
Speedy of flicht, and slicht of handis;
The Scotts of Eisdale, and the Gramis,
I haif na time to tell your nameis.

Ib. p. 156.

When *Common Thift* is executed (which is performed upon the stage), *Falset* (Falsehood), who is also brought forth for punishment, pronounces over him the following eulogy:

> Waes me for thee, gude Common Thift!
> Was never man made more honest chift,
> His living for to win:
> Thair wes not, in all Liddesdail,
> That ky mair craftelly could stail,
> Whar thou hingis on that pin!
>
> *Ib.* p. 194.

Sir Richard Maitland, incensed at the boldness and impunity of the thieves of Liddesdale in his time, has attacked them with keen iambicks. His satire, which, I suppose, had very little effect at the time, forms No. III. of the Appendix to this Introduction.

The Borderers had, in fact, little reason to regard the inland Scots as their fellow-subjects, or to respect the power of the Crown. They were frequently resigned, by express compact, to the bloody retaliation of the English, without experiencing any assistance from their prince, and his more immediate subjects. If they beheld him, it was more frequently in the character of an aven-

ging judge, than of a protecting sovereign. They were in truth, during the time of peace, a kind of outcasts, against whom the united powers of England and Scotland were often employed. Hence, the men of the Borders had little attachment to their monarchs, whom they termed, in derision, the Kings of Fife and Lothian; provinces which they were not legally entitled to inhabit,* and which, therefore, they pillaged with as little remorse as if they had belonged to a foreign country. This strange, precarious, and adventurous mode of life, led by the Borderers, was not without its pleasures, and seems, in all probability, hardly so disagreeable to us, as the monotony of regulated society must have been to those who had been long accustomed to a state of rapine. Well has it been remarked, by the eloquent Burke, that the shifting tides of fear and hope, the flight and pursuit, the peril and escape, alternate famine and feast, of the savage and the robber, after a time render all course of slow, steady, progressive, unvaried oc-

* By an act 1587, c. 96, Borderers are expelled from the inland counties, unless they can find security for their quiet deportment.

cupation, and the prospect only of a limited mediocrity, at the end of long labour, to the last degree tame, languid, and insipid. The interesting nature of their exploits may be conceived from the account of Camden.

" What manner of cattle-stealers they are that " inhabit these valleys in the Marches of both king- " doms, John Lesley, a Scotchman himself, and " Bishop of Ross, will inform you. They sally " out of their own Borders, in the night, in troops, " through unfrequented bye-ways, and many in- " tricate windings. All the day-time they refresh " themselves and their horses in lurking holes they " had pitched upon before, till they arrive in the " dark at those places they have a design upon. " As soon as they have seized upon the booty, " they, in like manner, return home in the night, " through blind ways, and fetching many a com- " pass. The more skilful any captain is to pass " through those wild deserts, crooked turnings, and " deep precipices, in the thickest mists and dark- " ness, his reputation is the greater, and he is " looked upon as a man of an excellent head.— " And they are so very cunning, that they seldom

"have their booty taken from them, unless some-
"times, when, by the help of blood-hounds fol-
"lowing them exactly upon the track, they may
"chance to fall into the hands of their adversa-
"ries. When being taken, they have so much
"persuasive eloquence, and so many smooth insi-
"nuating words at command, that if they do not
"move their judges, nay, and even their adver-
"saries (notwithstanding the severity of their na-
"tures) to have mercy, yet they incite them to ad-
"miration and compassion."— CAMDEN's *Britannia*. The reader is requested to compare this curious account, given by Lesley, with the ballad called *Hobbie Noble*.*

* The following tradition is also illustrative of Lesley's account. Veitch of Dawyk, a man of great strength and bravery, who flourished in the 16th century, is said by tradition to have been upon bad terms with a neighbouring proprietor, Tweedie of Drummelzier. By some accident a flock of Dawyk's sheep had strayed over into Drummelzier's grounds, at the time when *Dickie of the Den*, a Liddesdale outlaw, was making his rounds in Tweeddale. Seeing this flock of sheep, he drove them off without ceremony. Next morning, Veitch, perceiving his loss, summoned his servants and retainers, laid a blood-hound upon the traces of the robber, by whom they were guided for many miles, till, on the banks of Liddel, the dog staid upon a very large hay-stack. The pursuers were a good deal surprised at the obstinate pause of the blood-hound,

The inroads of the Marchers, when stimulated only by the desire of plunder, were never marked with cruelty, and seldom even with bloodshed, unless in the case of opposition. They held, that property was common to all who stood in want of it; but they abhorred and avoided the crime of unnecessary homicide.—LESLEY, p. 63. This was, perhaps, partly owing to the habits of intimacy betwixt the Borderers of both kingdoms, notwithstanding their mutual hostility and reciprocal depredations. A natural intercourse took place between the English and Scottish Marchers, at Border meetings, and during the short intervals of peace. They met frequently at parties of the chace and football; and it required many and strict regulations, on both sides, to prevent them from forming intermarriages, and from cultivating too close a degree of intimacy.—*Scottish Acts*, 1587,

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till Dawyk pulled down some of the hay, and discovered a large excavation, containing the robbers and their spoil. He instantly flew upon Dickie, and was about to poniard him, when the marauder, with the address noticed by Lesley, protested that he would never have touched a *cloot* (hoof) of them, had he not taken them for Drummelzier's property. This dexterous appeal to Veitch's passions saved the life of the free-booter.

c. 105; WHARTON's *Regulations, 6th Edward VI.* The custom, also, of paying black-mail, or protection-rent, introduced a connection betwixt the countries; for a Scottish Borderer, taking black-mail from an English inhabitant, was not only himself bound to abstain from injuring such person, but also to maintain his quarrel, and recover his property, if carried off by others. Hence, a union rose betwixt the parties, founded upon mutual interest, which counteracted, in many instances, the effects of national prejudice. The similarity of their manners may be inferred from that of their language. In an old mystery, imprinted at London, 1654, a mendicant Borderer is introduced, soliciting alms of a citizen and his wife. To a question of the latter he replies, "Sa-"vying your honour, good maistress, I was born "in Redesdale, in Northomberlande, and come of "a wight riding sirname, call'd the Robsons: gude "honeste men, and true, savyng a little shiftynge "for theyr livyng; God help them, silly pure "men." The wife answers, "What doest thou "here, in this countrie? me thinke thou art a Scot "by thy tongue." *Beggar.*—"Trowe me never

" mair then, good deam; I had rather be hanged " in a withie of a cow-taile, for thei are ever fare " and fause."—*Appendix to Johnson's Sad Shepherd*, 1783, p. 188. From the wife's observation, as well as from the dialect of the beggar, we may infer, that there was little difference between the Northumbrian and the Border Scottish; a circumstance interesting in itself, and decisive of the occasional friendly intercourse among the Marchmen. From all these combining circumstances arose the lenity of the Borderers in their incursions, and the equivocal moderation which they sometimes observed towards each other in open war.*

* This practice of the Marchmen was observed and reprobated by Patten. " Anoother manner have they (*the English* " *Borderers*) amoong them, of wearyng handkerchers roll'd " about their armes, and lettres brouder'd (*embroidered*) upon " their cappes: they said themselves, the use thearof was that " ech of them might knowe his fellowe, and thearbye the soon- " er assemble, or in nede to ayd one another, and such lyke re- " spectes; howbeit, thear wear of the arrny amoong us (some " suspicious men perchance) that thought thei used them for " collusion, and rather bycaus thei might be knowen to the " enemie, as the enemies are knowen to them (for thei have " their markes too,) and so in conflict either ech to spare oother, " or gently eche to take oother. Indede, men have been mooved " the rather to thinke so, bycaus sum of their crosses, (*the Eng-* " *lish red crosses*) were so narrowe, and so singly set on, that

This humanity and moderation was, on certain occasions, entirely laid aside by the Borderers. In the case of deadly feud, either against an Englishman, or against any neighbouring tribe, the whole force of the offended clan was bent to avenge the death of any of their number. Their

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" a puffe of wynde might blowe them from their breastes, and " that thei wear found right often talking with the Skottish " prikkers within less than their gad's (*spears*) length asunder; " and when thei perceived thei had been espied, thei have be- " gun one to run at anoother, but so apparently perlassent (*in* " *parley*) as the lookers on resembled their chasyng lyke the " running at base in an uplondish toun, whear the match is " made for a quart of good ale, or like the play in Robin Cookes " scole (*a fencing school,*) whear, bycaus the punies mey lerne, " thei strike fewe strokes but by assent and appointment. I " hard sum men say, it did mooch augment their suspicion " that wey, bycaus at the battail they sawe these prikkers so " badly demean them, more intending the taking of prisoners, " than the surety of victorye; for while oother men fought, " thei fell to their prey; that as thear wear but fewe of them " but brought home his prisoner, so wear thear many that had " six or seven."—PATTEN'S *Account of Somerset's Expedition,* " *apud* DALYELL'S *Fragments,* p. 76.

It is singular that, about this very period, the same circumstances are severely animadverted upon by the strenuous Scottishman, who wrote the *Complaynt of Scotland,* as well as by the English author above quoted: " There is nothing that is " occasione of your adhering to the opinion of Ingland contrair " your natife cuntré, bot the grit familiarite that Inglis men " and Scottes hes had on baith the Boirdours, ilk ane witht " utheris, in merchandeis, in selling and buying hors and nolt, " and scheip, outfang, and infang, ilk ane amang utheris, the

vengeance not only vented itself upon the homicide and his family, but upon all his kindred, on his whole tribe; and on every one, in fine, whose death or ruin could affect him with regret.—LESLEY, p. 68; *Border Laws, passim; Scottish Acts*, 1594, c. 231. The reader will find, in the following collection, many allusions to this infernal custom, which always overcame the Marcher's general reluctance to shed human blood, and rendered him remorselessly savage.

" whilk familiarite is express contrar the lauis and consuetudis
" bayth of Ingland and Scotland. In auld tymis it was deter-
" mit in the artiklis of the pace, be the twa wardanis of the
" Boirdours of Ingland and Scotland, that there shuld be na
" familiarite betwix Scottis men and Inglis men, nor marriage
" to be contrakit betwix them, nor conventions on holydais at
" gammis and plays, nor merchandres to be maid amang them,
" nor Scottis men till enter on Inglis grond, witht out the king
" of Ingland's save conduct, nor Inglis men til enter on Scottis
" grond, witht out the King of Scotland's save conduct, how-
" beit that ther war sure pace betwix the twa realmes. Bot
" thir sevyn yeir bygane, thai statutis and artiklis of the pace
" are adnullit, for ther hes been as grit familiarite, and con-
" ventions, and makyng of merchandreis, on the Boirdours,
" this lang tyme betwix Inglis men and Scottis men, bayth in
" pace and weir, as Scottismen usis amang theme selfis witht
" in the realme of Scotland: and sic familiarite has bene the
" cause that the kyng of Ingland gat intelligence witht divers
" gentlemen of Scotland."

Complaynt of Scotland, Edin. 1801, p. 164.

For fidelity to their word, Lesley ascribes high praise to the inhabitants of the Scottish frontier. Robert Constable (himself a traitorous spy) describes the outlaws, who were his guides into Scotland, as men who would not hesitate to steal, yet would betray no man that trusted in them, for all the gold in Scotland or France. "They are "my guides," said he; "and outlaws who might "gain their pardon by surrendering me, yet I am "secure of their fidelity, and have often proved "it." Indeed, when an instance happened of breach of faith, the injured person, at the first Border meeting, rode through the field, displaying a glove (the pledge of faith) upon the point of his lance, and proclaiming the perfidy of the person who had broken his word. So great was the indignation of the assembly against the perjured criminal, that he was often slain by his own clan, to wipe out the disgrace he had brought on them. In the same spirit of confidence, it was not unusual to behold the victors, after an engagement, dismiss their prisoners upon parole, who never failed either to transmit the stipulated ransom, or to surrender themselves to bondage, if unable to do so. But

the virtues of a barbarous people, being founded, not upon moral principle, but upon the dreams of superstition, or the capricious dictates of ancient custom, can seldom be uniformly relied on. We must not, therefore, be surprised to find these very men, so true to their word in general, using, upon other occasions, various resources of cunning and chicane, against which the Border Laws were in vain directed.

The immediate rulers of the Borders were the chiefs of the different clans, who exercised over their respective septs a dominion partly patriarchal, and partly feudal. The latter bond of adherence was, however, the more slender; for, in the acts regulating the Borders, we find repeated mention of "Clannes having captaines and chieftaines, "whom on they depend, oft-times against the "willes of their landeslordes."—*Stat.* 1587, c. 95, *and the Roll thereto annexed.* Of course, these laws looked less to the feudal superior than to the chieftain of the name, for the restraint of the disorderly tribes; and it is repeatedly enacted, that the head of the clan should be first called upon to deliver those of his sept, who should commit any

trespass, and that, on his failure to do so, he should be liable to the injured party in full redress. *Ibidem*, and *Stat.* 1574, c. 231. By the same statutes, the chieftains and landlords, presiding over Border clans, were obliged to find caution, and to grant hostages, that they would subject themselves to the due course of law. Such clans, as had no chieftain of sufficient note to enter bail for their quiet conduct, became broken men, outlawed to both nations.

From these enactments, the power of the Border chieftains may be conceived; for it had been hard and useless to have punished them for the trespasses of their tribes, unless they possessed over them unlimited authority. The abode of these petty princes by no means corresponded to the extent of their power. We do not find, on the Scottish Borders, the splendid and extensive baronial castles which graced and defended the opposite frontier. The Gothic grandeur of Alnwick, of Raby, and of Naworth, marks the wealthier and more secure state of the English nobles. The Scottish chieftain, however extensive his domains, derived no advantage, save from such parts

as he could himself cultivate or occupy. Payment of rent was hardly known on the Borders, till after the Union.* All that the landlord could gain, from those residing upon his estate, was their personal service in battle, their assistance in labouring the land retained in his natural possession, some petty quit rents, of a nature resembling the feudal casualties, and perhaps a share in the spoil which they acquired by rapine.† This, with his herds of cattle and of sheep, and with the *black-mail* which he exacted from his neighbours, constituted the revenue of the chieftain; and, from funds so precarious, he could rarely spare sums to expend in strengthening or decorating his habitation. Another reason is found, in the Scottish mode of warfare. It was early discovered, that the English

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* Stowe, in detailing the happy consequences of the union of the crowns, observes, "that the Northerne Borders became "as safe, and peaceable, as any part of the entire kingdome, "so as in the fourthe year of the King's reigne, as well gentle- "men and others, inhabiting the places aforesayde, finding the "auncient wast ground to be very good and fruitefull, began "to contende in lawe about their bounds, challenging then, "that for their hereditarie right, which formerly they dis- "avowed, only to avoyde charge of common defence."

† "As for the humours of the people, (*i. e.* of Teviotdale,) they "were both strong and warlike, as being inured to war, and

surpass their neighbours in the arts of assaulting or defending fortified places. The policy of the Scottish, therefore, deterred them from erecting upon the Borders buildings of such extent and strength, as, being once taken by the foe, would have been capable of receiving a permanent garrison.* To themselves, the woods and hills of their country were pointed out by the great Bruce, as their safest bulwarks; and the maxim of the Douglasses, that "it was better to hear the lark "sing, than the mouse cheep," was adopted by every Border chief. For these combined reasons, the residence of the chieftain was commonly a

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"daily incursions, and the most part of the heritors of the "country gave out all their lands to their tenants, for military "attendance, upon rentals, and reserved only some few manses "for their own sustenance, which were laboured by their te- "nants, besides their service. They paid an entry, a herauld, "and a small rental-duty; for there were no rents raised here "that were considerable, till King James went into England; "yea, all along the Border."—*Account of Roxburghshire, by Sir William Scott of Harden, and Kerr of Sunlaws, apud Macfarlane's MSS.*

* The royal castles of Roxburgh, Hermitage, Lochmaben, &c., form a class of exceptions to this rule, being extensive and well fortified. Perhaps we ought also to except the baronial castle of Home. Yet, in 1455, the following petty garrisons were thought sufficient for the protection of the Border; two hundred spearmen, and as many archers, upon the East and

large square battlemented * tower, called a *keep*, or *peel*; placed on a precipice, or on the banks of a torrent, and, if the ground would permit, surrounded by a moat. In short, the situation of a Border house, surrounded by woods, and rendered almost inaccessible by torrents, by rocks, or by morasses, sufficiently indicated the pursuits and apprehensions of its inhabitants.—" *Locus horroris et* " *vastæ solitudinis, aptus ad prædam, habilis ad ra-* " *pinam, habitatoribus suis lapis erat offensionis et* " *petra scandali, utpote qui stipendiis suis minime* " *contenti, totum de alieno parum de suo, possidebant*

Middle Marches; and one hundred spears, with a like number of bowmen, upon the Western Marches. But then the same statute provides, " That they are neare hand the Bordoure, " are ordained to have gud househaldes, and abulzied men as " effeiris: and to be reddie at their principal place, and to " pass, with the wardanes, quhen and quhair they sall be " charged."—*Act of James II.*, cap. 55, *Of garrisons to be laid upon the Borders.*—Hence Buchanan has justly described, as an attribute of the Scottish nation,

" *Nec fossis, nec muris, patriam, sed Marte tueri.*"

* I have observed a difference in architecture betwixt the English and Scottish towers. The latter usually have upon the to a projecting battlement, with interstices, anciently called *machicoules*, betwixt the parapet and the wall, through which stones or darts might be hurled upon the assailants. This kind of fortification is less common on the South Border.

"—*totius provinciæ spolium.*" No wonder, therefore, that James V., on approaching the castle of Lochwood, the ancient seat of the Johnstones, is said to have exclaimed, "that he who built it must have "been a knave in his heart." An outer wall, with some slight fortifications, served as a protection for the cattle at night. The walls of these fortresses were of an immense thickness, and they could easily be defended against any small force; more especially, as, the rooms being vaulted, each storey formed a separate lodgement, capable of being held out for a considerable time. On such occasions, the usual mode adopted by the assailants, was to expel the defenders, by setting fire to wet straw in the lower apartments. But the Border chieftains seldom chose to abide in person a siege of this nature; and I have not observed a single instance of a distinguished baron made prisoner in his own house.*—PATTEN's *Expedition*, p. 35. The common people resided in paltry huts, about the safety of which they were little anxious, as they contained nothing of value. On the approach of

* I ought to except the famous Dand Ker, who was made prisoner in his castle of Fairnihirst, after defending it bravely against Lord Dacres, 24th September, 1523.

a superior force, they unthatched them, to prevent their being burned, and then abandoned them to the foe.—STOWE's *Chronicle*, p. 665. Their only treasures were, a fleet and active horse, with the ornaments which their rapine had procured for the females of their family, of whose gay appearance the Borderers were vain.

Some rude monuments occur upon the Borders, the memorial of ancient valour. Such is the Cross at Milholm, on the banks of the Liddle, said to have been erected in memory of the Chief of the Armstrongs, murdered treacherously by Lord Soulis, while feasting in Hermitage castle. Such also, a rude stone, now broken, and very much defaced, placed upon a mount on the lands of Haugh-head, near the junction of the Kale and Teviot. The inscription records the defence made by Hobbie Hall, a man of great strength and courage, against an attempt of the powerful family of Ker, to possess themselves of his small estate.*

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* The rude strains of the inscription little correspond with the gallantry of a

> ——village Hampden, who, with dauntless breast,
> The little tyrant of his fields withstood.

The same simplicity marked their dress and arms. Patten observes, that in battle the laird could not be distinguished from the serf; all wearing the same coat-armour, called a jack, and the baron being only distinguished by his sleeves of mail and his head-piece. The Borderers, in general, acted as light cavalry, riding horses of a small size, but astonishingly nimble, and trained to move, by short bounds, through the morasses with which Scotland abounds. Their offensive weapons were a lance of uncommon length; a sword, either two-handed, or of the modern light size; sometimes a species of battle-axe, called a Jedburgh-staff; and, latterly, dags, or pistols. Although so much accustomed to act on horseback, that they held it even mean to appear otherwise,

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It is in these words:

> Here Hobbie Hall boldly maintained his right,
> 'Gainst reif, plain force, armed wi' awles might.
> Full thirty pleughs, harnes'd in all their gear,
> Could not his valiant noble heart make fear!
> But wi' his sword he cut the foremost's soam
> In two; and drove baith pleughs and pleughmen home.
> 1620.

Soam means the iron links, which fasten a yoke of oxen to the plough.

the Marchmen occasionally acted as infantry; nor were they inferior to the rest of Scotland in forming that impenetrable phalanx of spears, whereof it is said, by an English historian, that "sooner "shall a bare finger pierce through the skin of an "angry hedge-hog, than any one encounter the "brunt of their pikes." At the battle of Melrose, for example, Buccleuch's army fought upon foot. But the habits of the Borderers fitted them particularly to distinguish themselves as light cavalry; and hence the name of *prickers and hobylers*, so frequently applied to them. At the blaze of their beacon fires, they were wont to assemble ten thousand horsemen in the course of a single day. Thus rapid in their warlike preparations, they were alike ready for attack and defence. Each individual carried his own provisions, consisting of a small bag of oatmeal, and trusted to plunder, or the chace, for ekeing out his precarious meal. Beaugé remarks, that nothing surprised the Scottish cavalry so much as to see their French auxiliaries encumbered with baggage-waggons, and attended by commissaries. Before joining battle, it seems to have been the Scottish practice to set fire to the

litter of their camp, while, under cover of the smoke, the *hobylers*, or Border cavalry, executed their manœuvres.—There is a curious account of the battle of Mitton, fought in the year 1319, in a valuable MS. *Chronicle of England*, in the collection of the Marquis of Douglas, from which this stratagem seems to have decided the engagement. " In meyn time, while the wer thus lastyd, " the kynge went agane into Skotlonde, that hitte " was wonder for to wette, and bysechd the towne " of Barwick ; but the Skottes went over the water " of Sold, that was iii myle from the hoste, and " prively they stole away by nyghte, and come " into England, and robbed and destroyed all that " they myght, and spared no manner thing til that " they come to Yorke. And, whan the Englische- " men, that were left at home, herd this tiding, " all tho that myght well travell, so well monkys " and priestis, and freres, and chanouns, and secu- " lars, come and met with the Skottes at Mytone " of Swale, the xii day of October. Allas, for " sorrow for the Englischemen ! housbondmen, " that could nothing in wer, ther were quelled and " drenchyd in an arm of the see. And hyr chyf- " taines, Sir William Milton, Ersch-bishop of

" Yorke, and the Abbot of Selby, with her stedes,
" fled and come into Yorke; and that was her
" owne folye that they had that mischaunce; for
" the passyd the water of Swale, and the Skottes
" set on fiir three stalkes of hey, and the smoke
" thereof was so huge, that the Englischemen
" might not see the Scottes; and whan the Eng-
" lischemen were gon over the water, tho came the
" Skottes, with hir wyng, in maner of a sheld, and
" come toward the Englischemen in ordour. And
" the Englischemen fled for unnethe they had
" any use of armes, for the kyng had hem al al-
" most lost att the sege of Barwick. And the
" Scotsmen *hobylers* went betwene the brigge and
" the Englischemen; and when the gret hoste
" them met, the Englischemen fled between the
" *hobylers* and the gret hoste; and the Englische-
" men wer ther quelled, and he that myght wend
" over the water were saved, but many were drown-
" ed. Alas! for there were slayn many men of
" religion, and seculars, and priestis, and clerks,
" and with much sorwe the Erschbischope scaped
" from the Skottes; and, therefore, the Skottes
" called that battel the *White Battell.*"

For smaller predatory expeditions, the Borderers

had signals, and places of rendezvous, peculiar to each tribe. If the party set forward before all the members had joined, a mark, cut in the turf, or on the bark of a tree, pointed out to the stragglers the direction which the main body had pursued.* Their warlike convocations were, also, frequently disguised, under pretence of meetings for the purpose of sport. The game of foot-ball, in particular, which was anciently, and still continues to be, a favourite Border sport, was the means of collecting together large bodies of moss-troopers, previous to any military exploit. When Sir Robert Carey was warden of the East Marches, the knowledge that there was a great match at foot-ball at Kelso, to be frequented by the principal Scottish riders, was sufficient to excite his vigilance and his apprehension.† Previous also to the murder of Sir John Carmichael (see Notes on the *Raid of the*

* In the parish of Linton, in Roxburghshire, there is a circle of stones, surrounding a smooth plot of turf, called the *Tryst*, or place of appointment, which tradition avers to have been the rendezvous of the neighbouring warriors. The name of the leader was cut in the turf, and the arrangement of the letters announced to his followers the course which he had taken. See *Statistical Account of the Parish of Linton.*

† See Appendix.

Reidswire,) it appeared at the trial of the perpetrators, that they had assisted at a grand foot-ball meeting, where the crime was concerted.

Upon the religion of the Borderers there can very little be said. We have already noticed, that they remained attached to the Roman Catholic faith rather longer than the rest of Scotland. This probably arose from a total indifference upon the subject; for we no where find in their character the respect for the church, which is a marked feature of that religion. In 1528, Lord Dacre complains heavily to Cardinal Wolsey, that, having taken a notorious freebooter, called Dyk Irwen, the brother and friends of the outlaw had, in retaliation, seized a man of some property, and a relation of Lord Dacre, called Jeffrey Middleton, as he returned from a pilgrimage to St Ninian's, in Galloway; and that, notwithstanding the sanctity of his character as a *true pilgrim*, and the Scottish monarch's safe conduct, they continued to detain him in their fastnesses, until he should redeem the said arrant thief, Dyk Irwen. The abbeys, which were planted upon the Border, neither seem to have been much respected by the English, nor by the Scottish barons. They were repeatedly burn-

ed by the former, in the course of the Border wars, and by the latter they seem to have been regarded chiefly as the means of endowing a needy relation, or the subject of occasional plunder. Thus, Andrew Home of Fastcastle, about 1488, attempted to procure a perpetual feu of certain possessions belonging to the Abbey of Coldinghame; and being baffled, by the King bestowing that opulent benefice upon the royal chapel at Stirling, the Humes and Hepburns started into rebellion; asserting, that the priory should be conferred upon some younger son of their families, according to ancient custom. After the fatal battle of Flodden, one of the Kers testified his contempt for clerical immunities and privileges, by expelling from his house the Abbot of Kelso. These bickerings betwixt the clergy and the barons were usually excited by disputes about their temporal interest. It was common for the churchmen to grant lands in feu to the neighbouring gentlemen, who, becoming their vassals, were bound to assist and protect them.* But, as the possessions and revenues of

* These vassals resembled, in some degree, the Vidames in France, and the Vogten, or Vizedomen, of the German abbeys;

the benefices became thus intermixed with those of the laity, any attempts rigidly to enforce the claims of the church were usually attended by the most scandalous disputes. A petty warfare was carried on for years, betwixt James, Abbot of Dryburgh, and the family of Halliburton of Mertoun, or Newmains, who held some lands from that abbey. These possessions were, under various pretexts, seized and laid waste by both parties; and some bloodshed took place in the contest, betwixt the lay vassals and their spiritual superior. The matter was, at length, thought of sufficient importance to be terminated by a reference to his Majesty; whose decree arbitral, dated at Stirling, the 8th of May, 1535, proceeds thus: "Whereas we, "having been advised and knowing the said gen- "tlemen, the Halliburtons, to be leal and true "honest men, long servants unto the saide ab- "beye, for the saide landis, stout men at armes, "and goode Borderers against Ingland; and doe "therefore decree and ordain, that they sall be

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but the system was never carried regularly into effect in Britain, and this circumstance facilitated the dissolution of the religious houses.

" repossess'd, and bruik and enjoy the landis and " steedings they had of the said abbeye, paying " the use and wonte: and that they sall be goode " servants to the said venerabil father, like as they " and their predecessours were to the said venera- " bil father, and his predecessours, and he a good " master to them."* It is unnecessary to detain the reader with other instances of the discord, which prevailed anciently upon the Borders, betwixt the spiritual shepherd and his untractable flock.

The Reformation was late of finding its way into the Border wilds; for, while the religious and civil dissentions were at the height in 1568, Drury

* This decree was followed by a marriage betwixt the abbot's daughter, Elizabeth Stewart, and Walter Halliburton, one of the family of Newmains. But even this alliance did not secure peace between the venerable father and his vassals. The offspring of the marriage was an only daughter, named Elizabeth Halliburton. As this young lady was her father's heir, the Halliburtons resolved that she should marry one of her cousins, to keep her property in the clan. But as this did not suit the views of the abbot, he carried off by force the intended bride, and married her, at Stirling, to Alexander Erskine, a brother of the Laird of Balgony, a relation and follower of his own. From this marriage sprung the Erskines of Shielfield. This exploit of the abbot revived the feud betwixt him and the Halliburtons, which only ended with the dissolution of the abbey.—*MS. History of Halliburton Family, penes editorem.*

writes to Cecil,—" Our trusty neighbours of Te-
" viotdale are holden occupied only to attend to
" the pleasure and calling of their own heads, to
" make some diversion in this matter." The influence of the reformed preachers, among the Borders, seems also to have been but small; for, upon all occasions of dispute with the kirk, James VI. was wont to call in their assistance.—CALDERWOOD, p. 129.

We learn from a curious passage in the life of Richard Cameron, a fanatical preacher during the time of what is called the " persecution," that some of the Borderers retained to a late period their indifference about religious matters. After having been licensed at Haughhead, in Teviotdale, he was, according to his biographer, sent first to preach in Annandale. " He said, ' how can I go
" there? I know what sort of people they are.'
" ' But,' Mr Welch said, ' go your way, Ritchie,
" and set the fire of hell to their tails.' He went;
" and, the first day, he preached upon that text,
" *How shall I put thee among the children*, &c. In
" the application, he said, ' Put you among the
" children! the offspring of thieves and robbers!

"we have all heard of Annandale thieves.' Some "of them got a merciful cast that day, and told "afterwards, that it was the first field-meeting they "ever attended, and that they went out of mere "curiosity, to see a minister preach in a tent, and "people sit on the ground."—*Life of Richard Cameron.**

Cleland, an enthusiastic Cameronian, lieutenant-colonel of the regiment levied after the Revolution from among that wild and fanatical sect, claims to the wandering preachers of his tribe the merit of converting the Borderers. He introduces a cavalier haranguing the Highlanders, and ironically thus guarding them against the fanatic divines:

If their doctrine there get rooting,
Then, farewell theift, the best of booting.
And this ye see is very clear,
Dayly experience makes it appear;
For instance, lately on the Borders,
Where there was nought but theft and murders,
Rapine, cheating, and resetting,
Slight of hand, and fortunes getting,

* This man was chaplain in the family of Sir Walter Scott of Harden, who attended the meetings of the indulged Presbyterians; but Cameron, considering this conduct as a compromise with the foul fiend Episcopacy, was dismissed from the family. He was slain in a skirmish at Airdsmoss, bequeathing his name to the sect of fanatics still called Cameronians.

Their designation, as ye ken,
Was all along the *Tacking Men*.
Now, rebels more prevails with words,
Than drawgoons does with guns and swords,
So that their bare preaching now
Makes the rush-bush keep the cow;
Better than Scots or English kings
Could do by kilting them with strings.
Yea, those that were the greatest rogues,
Follows them over hills and bogues,
Crying for mercy and for preaching,
For they'll now hear no others teaching."

Cleland's Poems, 1697, p. 30.

The poet of the Whigs might exaggerate the success of their teachers; yet it must be owned, that the doctrine of insubordination, joined to their vagrant and lawless habits, was calculated strongly to conciliate their Border hearers.

But, though the church, in the Border counties, attracted little veneration, no part of Scotland teemed with superstitious fears and observances more than they did. "The Dalesmen," * says Lesley, "never count their beads with such ear-

* An epithet bestowed upon the Borderers, from the names of the various districts; as Tiviotdale, Liddesdale, Eskdale, Ewsdale, Annandale, &c. Hence, an old ballad distinguishes the north as the country,

"Where every river gives name to a dale."

Ex-alc-tation of Ale.

"nestness as when they set out upon a predatory "expedition." Penances, the composition betwixt guilt and conscience, were also frequent upon the Borders. Of this we have a record in many bequests to the church, and in some more lasting monuments; such as the Tower of Repentance, in Dumfries-shire, and, according to vulgar tradition, the church of Linton,* in Roxburghshire. In the Appendix to this Introduction, No. IV., the reader will find a curious league, or treaty of peace betwixt two hostile clans, by which the heads of each became bound to make the four pilgrimages of Scotland, for the benefit of the souls of those of the opposite clan, who had fallen in the feud. These were superstitions, flowing im-

* This small church is founded upon a little hill of sand, in which no stone of the size of an egg is said to have been found, although the neighbouring soil is sharp and gravelly. Tradition accounts for this, by informing us, that the foundresses were two sisters, upon whose account much blood had been spilt in that spot; and that the penance imposed on the fair causers of the slaughter, was an order from the Pope to sift the sand of the hill, upon which their church was to be erected. This story may, perhaps, have some foundation; for, in the churchyard was discovered a single grave, containing no fewer than fifty skulls, most of which bore the marks of having been cleft by violence.

mediately from the nature of the Catholic religion: but there was, upon the Border, no lack of others of a more general nature. Such was the universal belief in spells, of which some traces may yet remain in the wild parts of the country. These were common in the time of the learned Bishop Nicolson, who derives them from the time of the Pagan Danes. "This conceit was the more "heightened, by reflecting upon the natural su- "perstition of our Borderers at this day, who were "much better acquainted with, and do more firm- "ly believe, their old legendary stories, of fairies "and witches, than the articles of their creed. "And to convince me, yet farther, that they are "not utter strangers to the black art of their fore- "fathers, I met with a gentleman in the neigh- "bourhood, who shewed me a book of spells and "magical receipts, taken, two or three days be- "fore, in the pocket of one of our moss-troopers; "wherein, among many other conjuring feats, was "prescribed a certain remedy for an ague, by ap- "plying a few barbarous characters to the body "of the party distempered. These, methought, "were very near a-kin to Wormius's *Ram Runer*,

" which, he says, differed wholly in figure and " shape from the common *runæ*. For, though he " tells us that these *Ram Runer* were so called, " *Eo " quod molestias, dolores, morbosque hisce infligere, " inimicis soliti sunt magi*; yet his great friend, Arng. " Jonas, more to our purpose, says, that—*His " etiam usi sunt ad benefaciendum, juvandum, medi- " candum tam animi quam corporis morbis; atque ad " ipsos cacodæmones pellendos et fugandos.* I shall " not trouble you with a draught of this spell, be- " cause I have not yet had an opportunity of learn- " ing whether it may not be an ordinary one, and " to be met with, among others of the same na- " ture, in Paracelsus, or Cornelius Agrippa."— *Letter from Bishop Nicolson to Mr Walker; vide Camden's Britannia, Cumberland.* Even in the editor's younger days, he can remember the currency of certain spells, for curing sprains, burns, or dislocations, to which popular credulity ascribed unfailing efficacy.* Charms, however, against spi-

* Among these may be reckoned the supposed influence of Irish earth, in curing the poison of adders, or other venomous reptiles.—This virtue is extended by popular credulity to the natives, and even to the animals, of Hibernia. A gentleman, bitten by some reptile, so as to occasion a great swelling, seri-

ritual enemies, were yet more common than those intended to cure corporeal complaints. This is not surprising, as a fantastic remedy well suited an imaginary disease.

There were, upon the Borders, many consecrated wells, for resorting to which the people's credulity is severely censured by a worthy physician of the seventeenth century, who himself believed in a shower of living herrings having fallen near Dumfries. "Many run superstitiously to other "wells, and there obtain, as they imagine, health "and advantage; and there they offer bread and "cheese, or money, by throwing them into the "well." In another part of the MS. occurs the following passage: "In the bounds of the lands "of Eccles, belonging to a lyneage of the name "of Maitland, there is a loch called the Dowloch, "of old resorted to with much superstition, as me-"dicinal both for men and beasts, and that with "such ceremonies, as are *shrewdly* suspected to have "been begun with witchcraft, and increased after-"ward by magical directions: For, burying of a

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ously assured the editor, that he ascribed his cure to putting the affected finger into the mouth of an Irish mare.

"cloth, or somewhat that did relate to the bodies "of men and women, and a shackle, or tether, "belonging to cow or horse, and these being cast "into the loch, if they did float, it was taken for "a good omen of recovery, and a part of the wa- "ter carried to the patient, though to remote pla- "ces, without saluting or speaking to any they "met by the way; but, if they did sink, the re- "covery of the party was hopeless. This custom "was of late much curbed and restrained; but "since the discovery of many medicinal fountains "near to the place, the vulgar, holding that it "may be as medicinal as these are, at this time "begin to re-assume their former practice."—*Account of Presbytery of Penpont, in Macfarlane's MSS.*

The idea, that the spirits of the deceased return to haunt the place, where on earth they have suffered, or have rejoiced, is, as Dr Johnson has observed, common to the popular creed of all nations. The just and noble sentiment, implanted in our bosoms by the Deity, teaches us that we shall not slumber for ever, as the beasts that perish. Human vanity, or credulity, chequers, with its

own inferior and base colours, the noble prospect, which is alike held out to us by philosophy and by religion. We feel, according to the ardent expression of the poet, that we shall not wholly die; but from hence we vainly and weakly argue, that the same scenes, the same passions, shall delight and actuate the disembodied spirit, which affected it while in its tenement of clay. Hence the popular belief, that the soul haunts the spot where the murdered body is interred; that its appearances are directed to bring down vengeance on its murderers; or that, having left its terrestrial form in a distant clime, it glides before its former friends, a pale spectre, to warn them of its decease. Such tales, the foundation of which is an argument from our present feelings to those of the spiritual world, form the broad and universal basis of the popular superstition regarding departed spirits; against which, reason has striven in vain, and universal experience has offered a disregarded testimony. These legends are peculiarly acceptable to barbarous tribes; and, on the Borders, they were received with most unbounded faith. It is true, that these supernatural adversa-

ries were no longer opposed by the sword and battle-axe, as among the unconverted Scandinavians. Prayers, spells, and exorcisms, particularly in the Greek and Hebrew languages, were the weapons of the Borderers, or rather of their priests and cunning men, against their aërial enemy.* The be-

* One of the most noted apparitions is supposed to haunt Spedlin's Castle near Lochmaben, the ancient baronial residence of the Jardines of Applegirth. It is said, that, in exercise of his territorial jurisdiction, one of the ancient lairds had imprisoned, in the *Massy More*, or dungeon of the castle, a person named Porteous. Being called suddenly to Edinburgh, the laird discovered, as he entered the West Port, that he had brought along with him the key of the dungeon. Struck with the utmost horror, he sent back his servant to relieve the prisoner; but it was too late. The wretched being was found lying upon the steps descending from the door of the vault, starved to death. In the agonies of hunger, he had gnawed the flesh from one of his arms. That his spectre should haunt the castle, was a natural consequence of such a tragedy. Indeed its visits became so frequent, that a clergyman of eminence was employed to exorcise it. After a contest of twenty-four hours, the man of art prevailed so far as to confine the goblin to the *Massy More* of the castle, where its shrieks and cries are still heard. A part, at least, of the spell, depends upon the preservation of the ancient black-lettered Bible, employed by the exorcist. It was some years ago thought necessary to have this Bible re-bound; but, as soon as it was removed from the castle, the spectre commenced his nocturnal orgies, with ten-fold noise; and it is verily believed that he would have burst from his confinement, had not the sacred volume been speedily replaced.

A Mass John Scott, minister of Peebles, is reported to have

lief in ghosts, which has been well termed the last lingering phantom of superstition, still maintains its ground upon the Borders.

It is unnecessary to mention the superstitious belief in witchcraft, which gave rise to so much cruelty and persecution during the seventeenth century. There were several executions upon the Borders for this imaginary crime, which was usually tried not by the ordinary judges, but by a set

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been the last renowned exorciser, and to have lost his life in a contest with an obstinate spirit. This was owing to the conceited rashness of a young clergyman, who commenced the ceremony of laying the ghost before the arrival of Mass John. It is the nature, it seems, of spirits disembodied, as well as embodied, to increase in strength and presumption, in proportion to the advantages which they may gain over the opponent. The young clergyman losing courage, the horrors of the scene were increased to such a degree, that, as Mass John approached the house in which it passed, he beheld the slates and tiles flying from the roof, as if dispersed with a whirlwind. At his entry, he perceived all the wax-tapers (the most essential instruments of conjuration) extinguished, except one, which already burned blue in the socket. The arrival of the experienced sage changed the scene: he brought the spirit to reason; but unfortunately, while addressing a word of advice or censure to his rash brother, he permitted the ghost to obtain the *last word*; a circumstance which, in all colloquies of this nature, is strictly to be guarded against. This fatal oversight occasioned his falling into a lingering disorder, of which he never recovered.

A curious poem, upon the laying of a ghost, forms article No. V. of the Appendix.

of country gentlemen, acting under commission from the Privy Council.*

Besides these grand articles of superstitious belief, the creed of the Borderers admitted the existence of sundry classes of subordinate spirits, to whom were assigned peculiar employments. The chief of these were the Fairies, concerning whom the reader will find a long dissertation in Volume Second. The Brownie formed a class of beings, distinct in habit and disposition from the freakish and mischievous elves. He was meagre, shaggy, and wild in his appearance. Thus Cleland, in his satire against the Highlanders, compares them to

> "Faunes, or *Brownies*, if ye will,
> Or Satyres come from Atlas Hill."

In the day time, he lurked in remote recesses of the old houses which he delighted to haunt; and, in the night, sedulously employed himself in discharging any laborious task which he thought might be acceptable to the family, to whose service he had devoted himself. His name is pro-

* I have seen, *penes* Hugh Scott, Esq. of Harden, the record of the trial of a witch, who was burned at Ducove. She was tried in the manner above mentioned.

bably derived from the *Portuni*, whom Gervase of Tilbury describes thus: "*Ecce enim in Anglia* "*dæmones quosdam habent, dæmones, inquam, nescio* "*dixerim, an secretæ et ignotæ generationis effigies,* "*quos Galli Neptunos, Angli Portunos nominant.* "*Istis insitum est quod simplicitatem fortunatorum* "*colonorum amplectuntur, et cum nocturnas propter* "*domesticas operas agunt vigilias, subito clausis januis* "*ad ignem califiunt, et ranunculas ex sinu projectas,* "*prunis impositas concedunt, senili vultu, facie corru-* "*gata, statura pusilli, dimidium pollicis non haben-* "*tes. Panniculis concertis induuntur, et si quid ges-* "*tandum in domo fuerit, aut onerosi operis agendum,* "*ad operandum se jungunt citius humana facilitate* "*expediunt. Id illis insitum est, ut obsequi possint et* "*obesse non possint.*"—Otia. Imp. p. 980. In every respect, saving only the feeding upon frogs, which was probably an attribute of the Gallic spirits alone, the above description corresponds with that of the Scottish Brownie. But the latter, although, like Milton's lubbar fiend, he loves to stretch himself by the fire,* does not drudge from the hope of re-

* — how the drudging goblin swet,
To earn the cream-bowl, duly set;

compense. On the contrary, so delicate is his attachment, that the offer of reward, but particularly of food, infallibly occasions his disappearance for ever.* We learn from Olaus Magnus,

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When, in one night, ere glimpse of morn,
His shadowy flail had thresh'd the corn,
That ten day-lab'rers could not end;
Then lies him down the lubbar fiend,
And, stretch'd out all the chimney's length,
Basks at the fire his hairy strength;
And, crop-full, out of doors he flings,
Ere the first cock his mattin rings.

L' Allegro.

When the menials in a Scottish family protracted their vigils around the kitchen fire, Brownie, weary of being excluded from the midnight hearth, sometimes appeared at the door, seemed to watch their departure, and thus admonished them: —"Gang a' to your beds, sirs, and dinna put out the wee "*grieshoch* (embers.)"

* It is told of a Brownie, who haunted a Border family, now extinct, that the lady having fallen unexpectedly in labour, and the servant, who was ordered to ride to Jedburgh for the *sage femme*, shewing no great alertness in setting out, the familiar spirit slipt on the great-coat of the lingering domestic, rode to the town on the laird's best horse, and returned with the midwife *en croupe*. During the short space of his absence, the Tweed, which they must necessarily ford, rose to a dangerous height. Brownie, who transported his charge with all the rapidity of the ghostly lover of *Lenore*, was not to be stopped by this obstacle. He plunged in with the terrified old lady, and landed her in safety where her services were wanted. Having put the horse into the stable (where it was afterwards found in a woeful plight), he proceeded to the room of the servant,

that spirits, somewhat similar in their operations to the Brownie, were supposed to haunt the Swedish mines. The passage, in the translation of 1658, runs thus: "This is collected in briefe, that "in northerne kingdomes there are great armies "of devils, that have their services, which they "perform with the inhabitants of these countries: "but they are most frequently in rocks and mines, "where they break, cleave, and make them hol- "low: which also thrust in pitchers and buckets, "and carefully fit wheels and screws, whereby they

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whose duty he had discharged; and, finding him just in the act of drawing on his boots, he administered to him a most merciless drubbing with his own horse-whip. Such an important service excited the gratitude of the laird; who, understanding that Brownie had been heard to express a wish to have a green coat, ordered a vestment of that colour to be made and left in his haunts. Brownie took away the green coat, but was never seen more. We may suppose, that, tired of his domestic drudgery, he went in his new livery to join the fairies.—*See Appendix*, No. VI.

The last Brownie, known in Ettrick forest, resided in Bodsbeck, a wild and solitary spot, where he exercised his functions undisturbed, till the scrupulous devotion of an old lady induced her to *hire him away*, as it was termed, by placing in his haunt a porringer of milk and a piece of money. After receiving this hint to depart, he was heard the whole night to howl and cry, "Farewell to bonny Bodsbeck!" which he was compelled to abandon for ever.

"are drawn upwards; and they shew themselves "to the labourers, when they list, like phantasms "and ghosts." It seems no improbable conjecture, that the Brownie is a legitimate descendant of the *Lar Familiaris* of the ancients.

A being, totally distinct from those hitherto mentioned, is the Bogle, or Goblin; a freakish spirit, who delights rather to perplex and frighten mankind, than either to serve, or seriously to hurt them. This is the *Esprit Follet* of the French; and *Puck*, or *Robin Goodfellow*, though enlisted by Shakespeare among the fairy band of *Oberon*, properly belongs to this class of phantoms. *Shellycoat*, a spirit, who resides in the waters, and has given his name to many a rock and stone upon the Scottish coast, belongs also to the class of bogles.* When he appeared, he seemed to be

* One of his pranks is thus narrated: Two men, in a very dark night, approaching the banks of the Ettrick, heard a doleful voice from its waves repeatedly exclaim—"Lost! Lost!" They followed the sound, which seemed to be the voice of a drowning person, and, to their infinite astonishment, they found that it ascended the river. Still they continued, during a long and tempestuous night, to follow the cry of the malicious sprite; and arriving, before morning's dawn, at the very sources of the river, the voice was now heard descending the

decked with marine productions, and, in particular. with shells, whose clattering announced his approach. From this circumstance he derived his name. He may, perhaps, be identified with the goblin of the northern English, which, in the towns and cities, Durham and Newcastle for example, had the name of *Barguest*;* but, in the country villages, was more frequently termed *Brag*. He usually ended his mischievous frolics with a horse-laugh.

Shellycoat must not be confounded with *Kelpy*, a water spirit also, but of a much more powerful and malignant nature. His attributes have been the subject of a poem in Lowland Scottish, by the learned Dr Jamieson of Edinburgh, which adorns the Third Volume of this collection. Of

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opposite side of the mountain in which they arise. The fatigued and deluded travellers now relinquished the pursuit; and had no sooner done so, than they heard Shellycoat applauding, in loud bursts of laughter, his successful roguery. The spirit was supposed particularly to haunt the old house of Gorinberry, situated on the river Hermitage, in Liddesdale.

* This is a sort of spirit peculiar to those towns. He has made his appearance in this very year (1809) in that of York, if the vulgar may be credited. His name is derived by Grose, from his appearing near bars or stiles, but seems rather to come from the German Bahr-Geist, or Spirit of the Bier.

Kelpy, therefore, it is unnecessary to say any thing at present.

Of all these classes of spirits it may be, in general, observed, that their attachment was supposed to be local, and not personal. They haunted the rock, the stream, the ruined castle, without regard to the persons or families to whom the property belonged. Hence they differed entirely from that species of spirits, to whom, in the Highlands, is ascribed the guardianship, or superintendance, of a particular clan, or family of distinction; and who, perhaps yet more than the Brownie, resemble the classic household gods. Thus, in a MS. history of Moray, we are informed, that the family of Gurlinbeg is haunted by a spirit, called *Garlin Bodacher*; that of the Baron of Kinchardin, by *Lamhdearg*,* or Red-hand, a spectre, one of whose hands is as red as blood; that of Tullochgorm, by

* The following notice of Lamhdearg occurs in another account of Strathspey, *apud* Macfarlane's MSS.:—"There is "much talke of a spirit called *Ly-erg*, who frequents the "Glenmore. He appears with a red hand, in the habit of a "souldier, and challenges men to fight with him; as lately as "1669, he fought with three brothers, one after another, who "immediately died thereafter."

Moy Moulach, a female figure, whose left hand and arm were covered with hair, who is also mentioned in *Aubrey's Miscellanies*, pp. 211, 212, as a familiar attendant upon the clan Grant. These superstitions were so ingrafted in the popular creed, that the clerical synods and presbyteries were wont to take cognizance of them.*

Various other superstitions, regarding magicians, spells, prophecies, &c., will claim our attention in the progress of this work. For the present, therefore, taking the advice of an old Scottish rhymer, let us

"Leave bogles, brownies, gyre carlinges, and ghaists."†
Flyting of Polwart and Montgomery.

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* There is current, in some parts of Germany, a fanciful superstition concerning the *Stille Volke*, or silent people. These they suppose to be attached to houses of eminence, and to consist of a number, corresponding to that of the mortal family, each person of which has thus his representative amongst these domestic spirits. When the lady of the family has a child, the queen of the silent people is delivered in the same moment. They endeavour to give warning when danger approaches the family, assist in warding it off, and are sometimes seen to weep and wring their hands before inevitable calamity.

† So generally were those tales of *diablerie* believed, that one William Lithgow, a *bon vivant*, who appears to have been a native, or occasional inhabitant, of Melrose, is celebrated by the pot-companion who composed his elegy, because

He was good company at jeists,

The domestic economy of the Borderers next engages our attention. That the revenue of the chieftain should be expended in rude hospitality, was the natural result of his situation. His wealth consisted chiefly in herds of cattle, which were consumed by the kinsmen, vassals, and followers, who aided him to acquire and to protect them.*

And wanton when he came to feists.
He scorned the converse of great beasts,
O'er a sheep's head;
He laugh'd at stories about ghaists;
Blyth Willie's dead!
WATSON's *Scottish Poems*, Edin. 1706.

* We may form some idea of the style of life maintained by the Border warriors, from the anecdotes, handed down by tradition, concerning Walter Scott of Harden, who flourished towards the middle of the sixteenth century. This ancient laird was a renowned freebooter, and used to ride with a numerous band of followers. The spoil, which they carried off from England, or from their neighbours, was concealed in a deep and impervious glen, on the brink of which the old tower of Harden was situated. From thence the cattle were brought out, one by one, as they were wanted, to supply the rude and plentiful table of the laird. When the last bullock was killed and devoured, it was the lady's custom to place on the table a dish, which, on being uncovered, was found to contain a pair of clean spurs, a hint to the riders, that they must shift for their next meal. Upon one occasion, when the village herd was driving out the cattle to pasture, the old laird heard him call loudly, *to drive out Harden's cow.* "*Harden's cow!*" echoed the affronted chief—"Is it come to that pass? by my faith "they shall sune say Harden's *kye*," (cows.) Accordingly, he

We learn from Lesley, that the Borderers were temperate in their use of intoxicating liquors, and we are therefore left to conjecture how they occupied the time, when winter, or when accident,

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sounded his bugle, mounted his horse, set out with his followers, and returned next day with "*a bow of kye, and a bas-*"*sen'd* (brindled) *bull.*" On his return with this gallant prey, he passed a very large hay-stack. It occurred to the provident laird, that this would be extremely convenient to fodder his new stock of cattle; but as no means of transporting it occurred, he was fain to take leave of it with this apostrophe, now proverbial: "By my soul, had ye but four feet, ye should not "stand lang there." In short, as Froissart says of a similar class of feudal robbers, nothing came amiss to them, that was not *too heavy, or too hot.* The same mode of house-keeping characterized most Border families on both sides. A MS. quoted in *History of Cumberland,* p. 466, concerning the Graemes of Netherby, and others of that clan, runs thus: "They were all stark moss-troopers and arrant thieves: both "to England and Scotland outlawed: yet sometimes connived "at, because they gave intelligence forth of Scotland, and "would raise 400 horse at any time, upon a raid of the Eng-"lish into Scotland." A saying is recorded of a mother to her son (which is now become proverbial,) "*Ride, Rouly* (Rowland,) *hough's i' the pot;*" that is, the last piece of beef was in the pot, and therefore it was high time for him to go and fetch more. To such men might with justice be applied the poet's description of the Cretan warrior, translated by my friend, Dr Leyden:

My sword, my spear, my shaggy shield,
With these I till, with these I sow;
With these I reap my harvest field,
The only wealth the Gods bestow.

confined them to their habitations. The little learning, which existed in the middle ages, glimmered a dim and dying flame in the religious houses; and even in the sixteenth century, when its beams became more widely diffused, they were far from penetrating the recesses of the Border mountains. The tales of tradition, the song, with the pipe or harp of the minstrel, were probably the sole resources against *ennui*, during the short intervals of repose from military adventure.

This brings us to the more immediate subject of the present publication.

Lesley, who dedicates to the description of Border manners a chapter, which we have already often quoted, notices particularly the taste of the Marchmen for music and ballad poetry. " *Placent* " *admodum sibi sua musica, et rythmicis suis cantio-*

With these I plant the purple vine,
With these I press the luscious wine.

My sword, my spear, my shaggy shield,
They make me lord of all below;
For he who dreads the lance to wield,
Before my shaggy shield must bow.
His lands, his vineyards, must resign,
And all that cowards have is mine.
Hybrias (ap. Athenæum.)

" *nibus, quas de majorum suorum gestis, aut ingenio-*
" *sis prebandi precandive stratagematis ipsi confin-*
" *gunt.*"—LESLÆUS, *in capit. de morbis eorum, qui Scotiæ limites Angliam versus incolunt.* The more rude and wild the state of society, the more general and violent is the impulse received from poetry and music. The muse, whose effusions are the amusement of a very small part of a polished nation, records, in the lays of inspiration, the history, the laws, the very religion, of savages.—Where the pen and the press are wanting, the flow of numbers impresses upon the memory of posterity the deeds and sentiments of their forefathers. Verse is naturally connected with music; and, among a rude people, the union is seldom broken. By this natural alliance, the lays " steep-
" ed in the stream of harmony," are more easily retained by the reciter, and produce upon his audience a more impressive effect. Hence, there has hardly been found to exist a nation so brutishly rude, as not to listen with enthusiasm to the songs of their bards, recounting the exploits of their forefathers, recording their laws and moral precepts, or hymning the praises of their deities.

But, where the feelings are frequently stretched to the highest pitch, by the vicissitudes of a life of danger and military adventure, this predisposition of a savage people, to admire their own rude poetry and music, is heightened, and its tone becomes peculiarly determined. It is not the peaceful Hindu at his loom, it is not the timid Esquimaux in his canoe, whom we must expect to glow at the war-song of Tyrtæus. The music and the poetry of each country must keep pace with their usual tone of mind, as well as with the state of society.

The morality of their compositions is determined by the same circumstances. Those themes are necessarily chosen by the bard, which regard the favourite exploits of the hearers; and he celebrates only those virtues which from infancy he has been taught to admire. Hence, as remarked by Lesley, the music and songs of the Borders were of a military nature, and celebrated the valour and success of their predatory expeditions. Razing, like Shakespeare's pirate, the eighth commandment from the decalogue, the minstrels praised their chieftains for the very exploits, against which the laws of the country denounced a capital doom.—An out-

lawed freebooter was to them a more interesting person than the King of Scotland exerting his power to punish his depredations; and, when the characters are contrasted, the latter is always represented as a ruthless and sanguinary tyrant.—Spenser's description of the bards of Ireland applies, in some degree, to our ancient Border poets. "There is, among the Irish, a certain kinde of "people called bardes, which are to them instead "of poets; whose profession is to set forth the "praises or dispraises of men, in their poems or "rhymes; the which are had in such high regard "or esteem amongst them, that none dare dis-"please them, for fear of running into reproach "through their offence, and to be made infamous "in the mouths of all men; for their verses are "taken up with a general applause, and usually "sung at all feasts and meetings, by certain other "persons, whose proper function that is, who also "receive, for the same, great rewardes and repu-"tation amongst them." Spenser, having bestowed due praise upon the poets, who sung the praises of the good and virtuous, informs us, that the bards, on the contrary, "seldom use to chuse

" unto themselves the doings of good men for the " arguments of their poems; but whomsoever they " finde to be most licentious of life, most bold and " lawless in his doings, most dangerous and despe- " rate in all parts of disobedience, and rebellious " disposition, him they set up and glorify in their " rhythmes; him they praise to the people, and to " young men make an example to follow."—*Eudoxus*—" I marvail what kind of speeches they " can find, or what faces they can put on, to praise " such bad persons, as live so lawlessly and licen- " tiously upon stealths and spoyles, as most of " them do; or how they can think that any good " mind will applaud or approve the same?" In answer to this question, *Irenæus*, after remarking the giddy and restless disposition of the ill-educated youth of Ireland, which made them prompt to receive evil counsel, adds, that such a person, " if " he shall find any to praise him, and to give him " any encouragement, as those bards and rhyth- " mers do, for little reward, or share of a stolen " cow,* then waxeth he most insolent, and half-

* The reward of the Welch bards, and perhaps of those upon the Border, was very similar. It was enacted by Howel

" mad, with the love of himself and his own lewd
" deeds. And as for words to set forth such lewd-
" ness, it is not hard for them to give a goodly
" and painted show thereunto, borrowed even from
" the praises which are proper to virtue itself. As
" of a most notorious thief, and wicked outlaw,
" which had lived all his life-time of spoils and
" robberies, one of their bardes, in his praise, will
" say, ' that he was none of the idle milk-sops
" that was brought up by their fire-side, but that
" most of his days he spent in arms, and valiant
" enterprizes; that he never did eat his meat before
" he had won it with his sword; that he lay not
" all night slugging in his cabin under his mantle,
" but used commonly to keep others waking to
" defend their lives, and did light his candle at the
" flames of their houses to lead him in the dark-
" ness; that the day was his night, and the night
" his day; that he loved not to be long wooing of
" wenches to yield to him; but, where he came,
" he took by force the spoil of other men's love,

Dha, that if the king's bard played before a body of warriors, upon a predatory excursion, he should receive, in recompence, the best cow which the party carried off.—*Leges Walliæ*, l. 1. cap. 19.

"and left but lamentations to their lovers; that "his music was not the harp, nor lays of love, but "the cries of people, and clashing of armour; and "finally, that he died, not bewailed of many, but "made many wail when he died, that dearly bought "his death.' Do not you think, Eudoxus, that "many of these praises might be applied to men "of best deserts? Yet are they all yielded to a "most notable traitor, and amongst some of the "Irish not smally accounted of."—*State of Ireland.* The same concurrence of circumstances, so well pointed out by Spenser, as dictating the topics of the Irish bards, tuned the Border harps to the praise of an outlawed Armstrong, or Murray.

For similar reasons, flowing from the state of society, the reader must not expect to find, in the Border ballads, refined sentiment, and, far less, elegant expression; although the style of such compositions has, in modern hands, been found highly susceptible of both. But passages might be pointed out, in which the rude minstrel has melted in natural pathos, or risen into rude energy. Even where these graces are totally wanting, the interest of the stories themselves, and the curious

picture of manners which they frequently present, authorise them to claim some respect from the public. But it is not the editor's present intention to enter upon a history of Border poetry; a subject of great difficulty, and which the extent of his information does not as yet permit him to engage in. He will, therefore, now lay before the reader the plan of the present publication; pointing out the authorities from which his materials are derived, and slightly noticing the nature of the different classes into which he has arranged them.

The MINSTRELSY of the SCOTTISH BORDER contains Three Classes of Poems:

I. HISTORICAL BALLADS.
II. ROMANTIC.
III. IMITATIONS OF THESE COMPOSITIONS BY MODERN AUTHORS.

The Historical Ballad relates events, which we either know actually to have taken place, or which, at least, making due allowance for the exaggerations of poetical tradition, we may readily conceive to have had some foundation in history.

For reasons already mentioned, such ballads were early current upon the Border. Barbour informs us, that he thinks it unnecessary to rehearse the account of a victory, gained in Eskdale over the English, because

> — Whasa liks, thai may her
> Young women, whan thai will play,
> Syng it among thaim ilk day.—
>
> *The Bruce*, Book XVI.

Godscroft also, in the History of the House of Douglas, written in the reign of James VI., alludes more than once to the ballads current upon the Border, in which the exploits of those heroes were celebrated. Such is the passage relating to the death of William Douglas, Lord of Liddesdale, slain by the Earl of Douglas, his kinsma , his godson, and his chief.* Similar strains of la-

* "The Lord of Liddesdale being at his pastime, hunting in "Ettrick forest, is beset by William, Earl of Douglas, and such "as he had ordained for the purpose, and there assailed, "wounded, and slain, beside Galeswood, in the year 1353, "upon a jealousy that the earl had conceived of him with his "lady, as the report goeth; for so sayeth the old song,

> "The Countess of Douglas out of her bower she came,
> "And loudly there that she did call—
> "It is for the lord of Liddesdale,
> "That I let all these tears down fall."

mentation were poured by the Border poets over the tomb of the Hero of Otterbourne; and over the unfortunate youths, who were dragged to an ignominious death, from the very table at which they partook of the hospitality of their sovereign. The only stanza, preserved of this last ballad, is uncommonly animated:—

> Edinburgh castle, towne, and toure,
> God grant thou sink for sinne!
> And that even for the black dinoure,
> Erl Douglas gat therein.

Who will not regret, with the editor, that compositions of such interest and antiquity should be now irrecoverable? But it is the nature of popular poetry, as of popular applause, perpetually to shift with the objects of the time; and it is the frail chance of recovering some old manuscript, which can alone gratify our curiosity regarding the ear-

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"The song also declareth, how she did write her love-letters "to Liddesdale, to dissuade him from that hunting. It tells "likewise the manner of the taking of his men, and his own "killing at Galeswood; and how he was carried the first night "to Linden kirk, a mile from Selkirk, and was buried in the "Abbey of Melrose."—GODSCROFT, vol. I. p. 144, Ed. 1743.

Some fragments of this ballad are still current, and will be found in the ensuing work.

lier efforts of the Border Muse. Some of her later strains, composed during the sixteenth century, have survived even to the present day; but the recollection of them has, of late years, become like that of a "tale which was told." In the sixteenth century, these northern tales appear to have been popular even in London; for the learned Mr Ritson has obligingly pointed out to me the following passages, respecting the noted ballad of *Dick o' the Cow* (p. 213); "Dick o' the Cow, that mad "demi-lance Northern Borderer, who plaid his "prizes with the Lord Jockey so bravely."—NASHE's *Have with you to Saffren-Walden, or Gabriell Harvey's Hunt is up.*—1596, 4to. *Epistle Dedicatorie, sig.* A. 2. 6. And, in a list of Books, printed for, and sold by, P. Brocksby (1688), occurs "Dick-a the-Cow, containing north country songs."* Could this collection have been found, it would probably have thrown much light on the present

* The Selkirkshire ballad of *Tamlane* seems also to have been well known in England. Among the popular heroes of romance, enumerated in the introduction to the history of "*Tom Thumbe*," (London, 1621, bl. letter), occurs "Tom a "Lin, the devil's supposed bastard." There is a parody upon the same ballad in the "*Pinder of Wakefield*," (London, 1621.)

publication: but the editor has been obliged to draw his materials chiefly from oral tradition.

Something may be still found in the Border cottages resembling the scene described by Pennycuik:—

On a winter's night my grannam spinning,
To mak a web of good Scots linen;
Her stool being placed next to the chimley,
(For she was auld, and saw right dimly,)
My lucky dad, an honest whig,
Was telling tales of Bothwell-brigg;
He could not miss to mind the attempt,
For he was sitting pu'ing hemp;
My aunt, whom nane dare say has no grace,
Was reading in the Pilgrim's Progress;
The meikle tasker, Davie Dallas,
Was telling blads of William Wallace;
My mither bade her second son say,
What he'd by heart of Davie Lindsay:
Our herd, whom all folks hate that knows him,
Was busy hunting in his bosom;
* * * * * *
The bairns, and oyes were all within doors;
The youngest of us chewing cinders,
And all the auld anes telling wonders.

PENNICUICK's *Poems*, p. 7.

The causes of the preservation of these songs have either entirely ceased, or are gradually decaying. Whether they were originally the composition of minstrels, professing the joint arts of poetry

and music; or whether they were the occasional effusions of some self-taught bard, is a question into which I do not here mean to inquire. But it is certain, that, till a very late period, the pipers, of whom there was one attached to each Border town of note, and whose office was often hereditary, were the great depositaries of oral, and particularly of poetical, tradition. About spring time, and after harvest, it was the custom of these musicians to make a progress through a particular district of the country. The music and the tale repaid their lodging, and they were usually gratified with a donation of seed corn.* This order of minstrels is alluded to in the comic song of *Maggy Lauder*, who thus addresses a piper—

"Live ye upo' the Border?"

By means of these men, much traditional poetry was preserved, which must otherwise have perished. Other itinerants, not professed musicians, found their welcome to their night's quarters rea-

* These town pipers, an institution of great antiquity upon the Borders, were certainly the last remains of the minstrel race. Robin Hastie, town-piper of Jedburgh, perhaps the last of the order, died nine or ten years ago: * his family was sup-

* Edition of 1802.

dily insured by their knowledge in legendary lore. John Græme, of Sowport, in Cumberland, commonly called *The Long Quaker*,* a person of this latter description, was very lately alive; and several of the songs, now published, have been taken down from his recitation. The shepherds also, and aged persons, in the recesses of the Border mountains, frequently remember and repeat the warlike songs of their fathers. This is more especially the case in what are called the South Highlands, where, in many instances, the same families have occupied the same possessions for centuries.

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posed to have held the office for about three centuries. Old age had rendered Robin a wretched performer; but he knew several old songs and tunes, which have probably died along with him. The town-pipers received a livery and salary from the community to which they belonged; and, in some burghs, they had a small allotment of land, called the Piper's Croft. For further particulars regarding them, see *Introduction to Complaynt of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1801, p. 142.

* This person, perhaps the last of our professed ballad reciters, died since the publication of the first edition of this work. He was by profession an itinerant cleaner of clocks and watches; but a stentorian voice, and tenacious memory, qualified him eminently for remembering accurately, and reciting with energy, the Border gathering songs and tales of war. His memory was latterly much impaired; yet, the number of verses which he could pour forth, and the animation of his tone and gestures, formed a most extraordinary contrast to his extreme feebleness of person, and dotage of mind.

It is chiefly from this latter source that the editor has drawn his materials, most of which were collected many years ago, during his early youth. But he has been enabled, in many instances, to supply and correct the deficiencies of his own copies, from a collection of Border songs, frequently referred to in the work, under the title of *Glenriddell's MS.* This was compiled from various sources, by the late Mr Riddel, of Glenriddel, a sedulous Border antiquary, and, since his death, has become the property of Mr Jollie, bookseller, at Carlisle; to whose liberality the editor owes the use of it, while preparing this work for the press. No liberties have been taken, either with the recited or written copies of these ballads, farther than that, where they disagreed, which is by no means unusual, the editor, in justice to the author, has uniformly preserved what seemed to him the best or most poetical reading of the passage. Such discrepancies must very frequently occur, wherever poetry is preserved by oral tradition; for the reciter, making it a uniform principle to proceed at all hazards, is very often, when his memory fails him, apt to substitute large portions from some other tale,

altogether distinct from that which he has commenced. Besides, the prejudices of clans and of districts have occasioned variations in the mode of telling the same story. Some arrangement was also occasionally necessary, to recover the rhyme, which was often, by the ignorance of the reciters, transposed or thrown into the middle of the line. With these freedoms, which were essentially necessary to remove obvious corruptions, and fit the ballads for the press, the editor presents them to the public, under the complete assurance, that they carry with them the most indisputable marks of their authenticity.

The same observations apply to the Second Class, here termed ROMANTIC BALLADS; intended to comprehend such legends as are current upon the Border, relating to fictitious and marvellous adventures. Such were the tales, with which the friends of Spenser strove to beguile his indisposition:

"Some told of ladies, and their paramours;
"Some of brave knights, and their renowned squires;
"Some of the fairies, and their strange attires,
"And some of giants, hard to be believed."

These, carrying with them a general, and not

merely a local interest, are much more extensively known among the peasantry of Scotland than the Border-raid ballads, the fame of which is in general confined to the mountains where they were originally composed. Hence, it has been easy to collect these tales of romance, to a number much greater than the editor has chosen to insert in this publication.* With this class are now intermingled some lyric pieces, and some ballads, which, though narrating real events, have no direct reference to Border history or manners. To the politeness and liberality of Mr Herd, of Edinburgh, the editor of the first classical collection of Scottish songs and ballads, (Edinburgh, 1774, 2 vols.,) the editor is indebted for the use of his MSS., containing songs and ballads, published and unpublished, to the number of ninety and upwards. To this collection frequent references are made, in

* Mr Jamieson, of Macclesfield, a gentleman of literary and poetical accomplishment, was, for some years, employed in a compilation of Scottish ballad poetry, which was published in 1806. I therefore, as far as the nature of my work permitted, sedulously avoided anticipating any of his materials: and the curious reader will find in his collection some important light on the history of Scottish Song, derived from comparing it with the ballad of the Scandinavians.

the course of the following pages. Two books of ballads, in MS., have also been communicated to me, by my learned and respected friend, Alexander Fraser Tytler, Esq.* I take the liberty of transcribing Mr Tytler's memorandum respecting the manner in which they came into his hands. "My father† got the following songs from an old "friend, Mr Thomas Gordon, Professor of Philo- "sophy, King's College, Aberdeen. The follow- "ing extract of a letter of the Professor to me ex- "plains how he came by them :—'An aunt of my "children, Mrs Farquhar, now dead, who was "married to the proprietor of a small estate, near "the sources of the Dee, in Braemar, a good old "woman, who spent the best part of her life among "flocks and herds, resided in her latter days in "the town of Aberdeen. She was possest of a "most tenacious memory, which retained all the "songs she had heard from nurses and country- "women in that sequestered part of the country. "Being maternally fond of my children, when

* Now a senator of the College of Justice, by the title of Lord Woodhouselee. 1810.—Now deceased. 1820.

† William Tytler, Esq. the ingenious defender of Queen Mary, and author of a *Dissertation upon Scottish Music*, which does honour to his memory.

"young, she had them much about her, and de-
"lighted them with her songs, and tales of chival-
"ry. My youngest daughter, Mrs Brown, at
"Falkland, is blest with a memory as good as her
"aunt, and has almost the whole of her songs by
"heart. In conversation I mentioned them to
"your father, at whose request, my grandson, Mr
"Scott, wrote down a parcel of them, as his aunt
"sung them. Being then but a mere novice in
"music, he added in the copy such musical
"notes, as, he supposed, might give your father
"some notion of the airs, or rather lilts, to which
"they were sung.'"

From this curious and valuable collection, the editor has procured very material assistance. At the same time, it contains many beautiful legendary poems, of which he could not avail himself, as they seemed to be the exclusive property of the bards of Angus and Aberdeenshire. But the copies of such, as were known on the Borders, have furnished him with various readings, and with supplementary stanzas, which he has frequent opportunities to acknowledge. The MSS. are cited under the name of Mrs Brown of Falkland, the inge-

nious lady, to whose taste and memory the world is indebted for the preservation of the tales which they contain. The other authorities, which occur during the work, are particularly referred to. Much information has been communicated to the editor, from various quarters, since the work was first published, of which he has availed himself, to correct and enlarge the subsequent editions.

In publishing both classes of Ancient Ballads, the editor has excluded those which are to be found in the common collections of this nature, unless in one or two instances, where he conceived it possible to give some novelty, by historical or critical illustration.

It would have been easy for the editor to have given these songs an appearance of more indisputable antiquity, by adopting the rude orthography of the period to which he is inclined to refer them. But this (unless when MSS. of antiquity can be referred to) seemed too arbitrary an exertion of the privileges of a publisher, and must, besides, have unnecessarily increased the difficulties of many readers. On the other hand, the utmost care has been taken, never to reject a word or phrase, used

by a reciter, however uncouth or antiquated. Such barbarisms, which stamp upon the tales their age and their nation, should be respected by an editor, as the hardy emblem of his country was venerated by the Poet of Scotland:

> The rough bur-thistle spreading wide
> Amang the bearded beer,
> I turned the weeder-clips aside,
> And spared the symbol dear.
>
> BURNS.

The meaning of such obsolete words is usually given at the bottom of the page. For explanation of the more common peculiarities of the Scottish dialect, the English reader is referred to the excellent glossary annexed to the best editions of Burns' works.

The Third Class of Ballads are announced to the public, as MODERN IMITATIONS of the Ancient style of composition, in that department of poetry; and they are founded upon such traditions, as we may suppose in the elder times would have employed the harps of the minstrels. This kind of poetry has been supposed capable of uniting the vigorous numbers and wild fiction, which occasionally charm us in the ancient ballad, with

a greater equality of versification, and elegance of sentiment, than we can expect to find in the works of a rude age. But upon my ideas of the nature and difficulty of such imitations, I ought, in prudence, to be silent; lest I resemble the dwarf, who brought with him a standard to measure his own stature. I may, however, hint at the difference, not always attended to, betwixt the legendary poems and real imitations of the old ballad; the reader will find specimens of both in the modern part of this collection. The legendary poem, called *Glenfinlas*, and the ballad, entitled the *Eve of St John*, were designed as examples of the difference betwixt these two kinds of composition.

It would have the appearance of personal vanity, were the editor to detail the assistance and encouragement which he has received, during his undertaking, from some of the first literary characters of our age. The names of Steuart, Mackenzie, Ellis, Currie, and Ritson, with many others, are talismans too powerful to be used, for bespeaking the world's favour to a collection of old songs; even although a veteran bard has remarked, "that "both the great poet of Italian rhyme, Petrarch, "and our Chaucer, and other of the upper house

"of the muses, have thought their canzons ho-"noured in the title of a ballad." To my ingenious friend, Dr John Leyden,* my readers will at once perceive that I lie under extensive obligations, for the poetical pieces with which he has permitted me to decorate my compilation; but I am yet farther indebted to him for his uniform assistance, in collecting and arranging materials for the work.

In the Notes and occasional Dissertations, it has been my object to throw together, perhaps without sufficient attention to method, a variety of remarks, regarding popular superstitions, and legendary history, which, if not now collected, must soon have been totally forgotten. By such efforts, feeble as they are, I may contribute somewhat to the history of my native country; the peculiar features of whose manners and character are daily melting and dissolving into those of her sister and ally. And, trivial as may appear such an offering to the manes of a kingdom, once proud and independent, I hang it upon her altar with a mixture of feelings, which I shall not attempt to describe.

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* Now, to the great loss of literature, and of his friends, no more. 1830.

" Red war, that twenty ages round thee blaz
" To thee, for whom my purest raptures flow
" Kneeling with filial homage, I devote
" My life, my strength, my first and latest so

APPENDIX, No. I.

LETTER

FROM

THE EARL OF SURREY, TO HENRY VIII.

GIVING AN ACCOUNT

OF THE STORM OF JEDBURGH.

Cott. MSS. Calig. B. III. fol. 29.

"PLEISITH it your grace to be advertised, that upon Fridaye, et x a clok at nyght, I retourned to this towne and all the garnysons to their places assigned, the bush-opricke men, my Lorde of Westmoreland, and my Lorde Dacre, in likewise, evry man home with their companys, without loss of any men, thanked be God; saving viii or x slayne, and dyvers hurt, at skyrmyshis and saults of the town of Gedwurth, and the fortereissis; which towne is soo surely brent, that no garnysons ner none other shal

bee lodged there, unto the tyme it bee newe buylded; the brennyng whereof I comytted to twoo sure men, Sir William Bulmer, and Thomas Tempeste. The towne was much bettir then I went (*i. e.* ween'd) it had been, for there was twoo tymys moo houses therein then in Berwicke, and well buylded, with many honest and fair houses therein, sufficiente to have lodged M horsemen in garnyson, and six good towres therein; which towne and towres be clenely destroyed, brent, and throwen downe. Undoubtedly there was noo journey made into Scotland, in noo manys day levying, with soo fewe a nombre, that is recownted to be soo high an enterprice as this, bothe with theis contremen, and Scottishmen, nor of truthe so much hurte doon. But in th' ende a great mysfortune ded fal, onely by foly, that such ordre, as was commanded by me to be kepte, was not observed, the manner whereof hereaftir shall ensue. Bifore myn entre into Scotland, I appointed Sir William Bulmer and Sir William Evers too be marshallis of th' army; Sir William Bulmer for the vanguard, and Sir William Evers for the reregard. In the vanguard I appointed my Lord of Westmoreland, as chief, with all the bushopricke, Sir William Bulmer, Sir William Evers, my Lord Dacre, with all his company; and with me remayned all the rest of the garnysons, and the Northumberland men. I was of counsaill with the marshallis at th' ordering of our lodgingg, and our campe was soo well envirowned with ordynenance, carts, and dikes, that hard it was to entre or issue

but at certain places appointed for that purpos, and assigned the mooste commodious place of the said campe for my Lord Dacre company, next the water, and next my Lord of Westmoreland. And at suche tyme as my Lord Dacre came into the felde, I being at the sault of th' abby, which contynued unto twoo houres within nyght, my seid Lord Dacre wolde in nowise bee contente to ly within the campe, whiche was made right sure, but lodged himself without, wherewith, at my returne, I was not contente, but then it was too late to remove; the next daye I sente my seid Lorde Dacre to a strong hold, called Fernherst, the lord whereof was his mortal enemy; and with hym, Sir Arthur Darcy, Sir Marmaduke Constable, with viii c of their men, one cortoute, and dyvers other good peces of ordynance for the feld (the seid Fernherste stode marvelous strongly, within a grete woode); the seid twoo knights with the most part of their men, and Strickland, your grace servaunte, with my Kendall men, went into the woode on fote, with th' ordynance, where the said Kendall men were so handled, that they found hardy men, that went noo foote back for theym; the other two knightes were also soo sharply assayled, that they were enforced to call for moo of their men; and yet could not bring the ordynance to the fortress, unto the tyme my Lord Dacre, with part of his horsemen, lighted on fote; and marvelously hardly handled himself, and fynally, with long skirmyshing, and moche difficultie, gat forthe th' ordynance within the howse and

threwe down the same. At which skyrmyshe, my seid Lord Dacre, and his brother, Sir Cristofer, Sir Arthure, and Sir Marmaduke, and many other gentilmen, did marvellously hardly; and found the best resistance that hath been seen with my comying to their parties, and above xxxii Scottis sleyne, and not passing iiij Englishmen, but above lx hurt. Aftir that, my said lord retournyng to the camp, wold in no wise bee lodged in the same, but where he lay the furst nyght. And he being with me at souper, about viij a clok, the horses of his company brak lowse, and sodenly ran out of his feld, in such nombre, that it caused a marvellous alarome in our feld; and our standing watche being set, the horses cam ronnyng along the campe, at whome were shot above one hundred shief of arrowes, and dyvers gonnys, thinking they had been Scots, that wold have saulted the campe; fynally, the horses were so madde, that they ran like wild dere into the feld, above xv c at the leest, in dyvers companys; and, in one place, above l felle downe a grete rok, and slewe theymself, and above ij c ran into the towne being on fire, and by the women taken, and carried awaye right evill brent, and many were taken agayne. But, finally, by that I can esteme by the nombre of theym that I saw goo on foote the next daye, I think thare is lost above viij c horses, and all with foly for lak of not lying within the camp. I dare not write the wondres that my lord Dacre, and all his company, doo saye they sawe that nyght, vj. tyms of spirits and

fereful sights. And unyversally all their company saye playnly, the devil was that nyght among theym vi tymys; which mysfortune hath blemyshed the best journey that was made in Scotland many yeres. I assure your grace I found the Scottes, at this tyme, the boldest men, and the hotest, that ever I sawe any nation, and all the journey, upon all parts of th' armye, kepte us with soo contynuall skyrmyshe, that I never sawe the like. If they might assemble xl M as good men as I nowe sawe, xv c or ij M, it wold bee a hard encountre to mete theym. Pitie it is of my Lord Dacres losse of the horses of his company; he brought with hym above iiij M. men, and came and lodged one night in Scotland, in his moost mortal enemy's contre. There is noo herdyer, ner bettir knyght, but often tyme he doth not use the most sure order, which he hath nowe payd derely for. Written at Berwike the xxvij of September.

Your most bownden,

T. SURREY.

APPENDIX, No. II.

HISTORY OF GEORDIE BOURNE.

In the following passages, extracted from the Memoirs of Sir Robert Carey, then deputy of his father, Lord Hunsdon, warden of the East Marches, afterwards Earl of Monmouth, the reader will find a lively illustration of the sketch given of Border manners in the preceding Introduction.

"Having thus ended with my brother, I then beganne to thinke of the charge I had taken upon mee, which was the government of the East March in my father's absence. I wrote to Sir Robert Kerr,* who was my opposite warden, a brave active young man, and desired him that hee would appoint a day, when hee and myselfe might privately meet in some part of the Border, to take some good order for the quieting the Borders, till my retourne from London, which journey I was

* Sir Robert Kerr of Cessford, warden of the Middle Marches, and ancestor of the house of Roxburghe.

shortly of necessity to take. He stayed my man all night, and wrote to mee back, that hee was glad to have the happinesse to be acquainted with mee, and did not doubt but the country would be better governed by our good agreements. I wrote to him on the Monday, and the Thursday after hee appointed the place and hour of meeting.

" After hee had filled my man with drinke, and put him to bed, hee, and some halfe a score with him, gott to horse, and came into England to a little village. There hee broke up a house, and tooke out a poor fellow, who (hee pretended) had done him some wrong, and before the doore cruelly murthered him, and so came quietly home, and went to bed. The next morning hee delivered my man a letter in answer to mine, and retourned him to mee. It pleased me well at the reading of his kinde letter; but when I heard what a *brave* hee had put upon mee, I quickly resolved what to do, which was, never to have to do with him till I was righted for the greate wrong he had done mee. Upon this resolution, the day I should have mett with him, I tooke post, and with all the haste I could, rode to London, leaving him to attend my coming to him as was appointed. There hee stayed from one till five, but heard no news of mee. Finding by this that I had neglected him, hee retourned home to his house, and so things rested (with greate dislike the one of the other) till I came back, which was with all the speede I could, my businesse being ended.

The first thing I did after my retourne, was to ask justice for the wrong hee had done me; but I could get none. The Borderers, seeing our disagreement, they thought the time wished for of them was come. The winter being beganne, their was roades made out of Scotland into the East March, and goods were taken three or four times a-weeke. I had no other meanes left to quiet them, but still sent out of the garrison horsemen of Berwick, to watch in the fittest places for them, and it was their good hap many times to light upon them, with the stolen goods driving before them. They were no sooner brought before mee, but a jury went upon them, and being found guilty, they were frequently hanged; a course which hath been seldom used, but I had no way to keep the country quiet but so to do; for, when the Scotch theeves found what a sharp course I tooke with them, that were found with the bloody hand, I had in a short time the country more quiet. All this while wee were but in jest as it were, but now beganne the greate quarrell betweene us.

" There was a favorite of his, a greate theife, called Geordie Bourne. This gallant, with some of his associates, would, in a bravery, come and take goods in the East March. I had that night some of the garrison abroad. They met with this Geordie and his fellows, driving of cattle before them. The garrison set upon them, and with a shott killed Geordie Bourne's unckle, and hee himselfe, bravely resisting till he was sore hurt in the

head, was taken. After he was taken, his pride was such, as hee asked, who it was that durst avow that nightes worke? but when he heard it was the garrison, he was then more quiet. But so powerful and so awfull was this Sir Robert Kerr, and his favourites, as there was not a gentleman in all the East March that durst offend them. Presently after hee was taken, I had most of the gentlemen of the March come to mee, and told mee, that now I had the ball at my foote, and might bring Sir Robert Kerr to what conditions I pleased; for that this man's life was so neere and deare unto him, as I should have all that my heart could desire, for the good and quiet of the country and myselfe, if upon any condition I would give him his life. I heard them and their reasons; notwithstanding, I called a jury the next morning, and hee was found guilty of MARCH TREASON. Then they feared that I would cause him to be executed that afternoone, which made them come flocking to mee, humbly entreating mee, that I would spare his life till the next day, and if Sir Robert Kerr came not himselfe to mee, and made mee not such proffers, as I could not but accept, that then I should do with him what I pleased. And further, they told mee plainly, that if I should execute him before I had heard from Sir Robert Kerr, they must be forced to quitt their houses, and fly the country; for his fury would be such, against me and the March I commanded, as hee would use all his power and strength to the utter destruction of the East March. They were so earnest with mee,

that I gave them my word hee should not dye that day. There was post upon post sent to Sir Robert Kerr, and some of them rode to him themselves, to advertise him in what danger Geordie Bourne was; how he was condemned, and should have been executed that afternoone, but, by their humble suit, I gave them my word, that he should not die that day; and therefore besought him that hee would send to mee, with all the speede hes could, to let mee know that hee would be the next day with mee to offer mee good conditions for the safety of his life.

When all things were quiet, and the watch set at night, after supper, about ten of the clock, I took one of my men's liveryes, and putt it about mee, and tooke two other of my servants with mee in their liveryes, and we three, as the warden's men, came to the provost marshall's, where Bourne was, and were lett into his chamber. Wee sate down by him, and told him that we were desirous to see him, because wee heard hee was stoute and valiant, and true to his friend; and that wee were sorry our master could not be moved to save his life. He voluntarily of himselfe said, that he had lived long enough to do so many villainies as hee had done; and withal told us, that hee had layne with about forty men's wives, what in England, and what in Scotland; and that he had killed seven Englishmen with his own hands, cruelly murthering them; that he had spent his whole life in whoring, drinking, stealing, and taking deep revenge for slight offences. Hee seemed to be very penitent, and much desired a minister for the comforte of his

soule. Wee promised him to lett our master know his desire, who, we knew, would presently grant it. We took our leaves of him, and presently I tooke order, that Mr Selby, a very worthy honest preacher, should go to him, and not stirre from him till his execution the next morning; for, after I had heard his own confession, I was resolved no conditions should save his life: and so tooke order, that at the gates opening the next morning, hee should be carried to execution, which accordingly was performed. The next morning I had one from Sir Robert Kerr for a parley, who was within two miles staying for mee. I sent him word, "I would "meet him where hee pleased, but I would first know "upon what termes and conditions." Before his man was retourned, hee had heard, that in the morning, very early, Geordie Bourne had been executed. Many vowes hee made of cruell revenge, and returned home full of griefe and disdaine, and from that time forward still plotted revenge. Hee knew the gentlemen of the country were altogether sacklesse, and to make open road upon the March would but shew his malice, and lay him open to the punishment due to such offences. But his practice was how to be revenged on mee, or some of mine.

"It was not long after, that my brother and I had intelligence that there was a great match made at foote-ball, and the chiefe ryders were to be there. The place they were to meet at was Kelsy, and that day wee heard it, was the day for the meeting. We presently

called a counsaile, and after much dispute it was concluded, that the likeliest place he was to come to, was to kill the scoutes. And it was the more suspected, for that my brother, before my coming to the office, for the cattaile stolne out of the bounds, and as it were from under the walles of Barwicke, being refused justice (upon his complaint), or at least delaid, sent off the garrison into Liddisdale, and killed there the chief offender, which had done the wrong.

" Upon this conclusion, there was order taken, that both horse and foote should lye in ambush in diverse parts of the boundes, to defend the scoutes, and to give a sound blow to Sir Robert and his company. Before the horse and foote were sett out with directions what to do, it was almost darke night, and the gates ready to be lockt. Wee parted, and as I was by myselfe, comeing to my house, God put it into my mind, that it might well be, hee meant destruction to my men that I had sent out to gather tithes for mee at Norham, and their rendezvous was every night to lye and sup at an ale-house in Norham. I presently caused my page to take horse, and to ride as fast as his horse could carry him, and to command my servants (which were in all eight) that, presently upon his coming to them, they should all change their lodging, and go streight to the castle, there to lye that night in strawe and hay. Some of them were unwilling thereto, but durst not disobey; so altogether left their ale-house, and retired to the castle. They had not well settled theme-

selves to sleep, but they heard in the town a great alarm; for Sir Robert and his company came streight to the ale-house, broke open the doors, and made enquiry for my servants. They were answered, that by my command they were all in the castle. After they had searched all the house, and found none, they feared they were betrayed, and, with all the speede they could, made haste homewards again. Thus God blessed me from this bloody tragedy.

"All the whole March expected nightly some hurt to be done; but God so blessed mee and the government I held, as, for all his fury, hee never drew drop of blood in all my March, neither durst his theeves trouble it much with stealing, for fear of hanging, if they were taken. Thus wee continued a yeare, and then God sent a meanes to bring things to better quiet by this occasion.

"There had been commissioners in Barwicke, chosen by the Queene and King of Scottes, for the better quieting of our Borders. By their industry they found a great number of malefactors guilty, both in England and Scotland; and they tooke order, that the officers of Scotland should deliver such offenders, as were found guilty in their jurisdictions, to the opposite officers in England, to be detained prisoners, till they had made satisfaction for the goods they had taken out of England. The like order was taken with the wardens of England, and days prefixed for the delivery of them all. And in case any of the officers, on either side, should omit their duties, in not

delivering the prisoners at the dayes and places appointed, that then there should a course be taken by the soveraignes, that what chiefe officer soever should offend herein, he himself should be delivered and detained, till he had made good what the commissioners had agreed upon.

The English officers did punctually, at the day and place, deliver their prisoners, and so did most of the officers of Scotland; only the Lord of Bocleuch and Sir Robert Kerr were faultie. They were complained of, and new dayes appointed for the delivery of their prisoners. Bocleuch was the first that should deliver; and hee failing, entered himself prisoner into Barwicke, there to remaine till those officers under his charge were delivered to free him. He chose for his guardian Sir William Selby, master of the ordinance at Barwicke. When Sir Robert Kerr's day of delivery came, he failed too, and my Lord Hume, by the king's command, was to deliver him prisoner into Barwicke upon the like terms, which was performed. Sir Robert Kerr (contrary to all men's expectation) chose mee for his guardian, and home I brought him to my own house, after he was delivered to mee. I lodged him as well as I could, and tooke order for his diet, and men to attend on him, and sent him word that (although by his harsh carriage towards mee, ever since I had that charge, he could not expect any favour, yet) hearing so much goodness of him, that hee never broke his worde, if hee would give me his hand and cre-

dit to be a true prisoner, hee would have no guard sett upon him, but have free liberty for his friends in Scotland to have ingresse and regresse to him as oft as hee pleased. He tooke this very kindly at my handes, accepted of my offer, and sent me thankes.

" Some four dayes passed ; all which time his friends came into him, and hee kept his chamber. Then hee sent to mee, and desired mee, I would come and speake with him, which I did ; and after a long discourse, charging and re-charging one another with wrong and injuries, at last, before our parting, we became good friends, with greate protestations, on his side, never to give mee occasion of unkindnesse again. After our reconciliation, hee kept his chamber no longer, but dined and supt with me. I tooke him abroad with mee at the least thrice aweeke, a hunting, and every day we grew better friends. Bocleuch, in a few days after, had his pledges delivered, and was set at liberty. But Sir Robert Kerr could not get his, so that I was commanded to carry him to Yorke, and there to deliver him prisoner to the archbishop, which accordingly I did. At our parting, he professed greate love unto mee for the kind usage I had shewn him, and that I would find the effects of it upon his delivery, which he hoped would be shortly.

" Thus wee parted ; and, not long after, his pledges were gott, and brought to Yorke, and he sett at liberty. After his retourne home, I found him as good as his word. We met oft at dayes of truce, and I had as good

APPENDIX, No. III.

MAITLAND'S COMPLAYNT,

AGAINST

THE THIEVIS OF LIDDISDAIL.

FROM PINKERTON'S EDITION, COLLATED WITH A MS. OF MAITLAND'S POEMS, IN THE LIBRARY OF EDINBURGH COLLEGE.

Of Liddisdail the common theifis
Sa peartlie steillis now and reifis,
That nane may keip
Horse, nolt, nor scheip,
Nor yett dar sleip
For their mischeifis.

Thay plainly throw the country rydis,
I trow the mekil devil thame gydis!
Quhair they onsett,
Ay in thair gaitt,
Thair is na yet
Nor dor, thame bydis.

Thay leif rich nocht, quhair ever thay ga;
Their can na thing be hid them fra;
For gif men wald
Thair housis hald,
Than wax they bald,
To burne and slay.

Thay theifis have neirhand herreit hail,
Ettricke forest and Lawderdail;
Now are they gane,
In Lawthiane;
And spairis nane
That thay will waill.

Thay landis ar with stouth sa socht,
To extreame povertye ar broucht,
Thay wicked scrowis
Has laid the plowis,
That nane or few is
That are left oucht.

Bot commoun taking of blak mail,
They that had flesche, and breid and aill,
Now are sae wrakit,
Made bair and nakit,
Fane to be slaikit
With watter caill.

Thay theifs that steillis and tursis hame,
Ilk ane of them has ane to-name;*
Will of the Lawis,
Hab of the Schawis:
To mak bar wawis
Thay thinke na schame.

Thay spuilye puir men of their pakis,
They leif them nocht on bed nor bakis:
Baith hen and cok,
With reil and rok,
The Lairdis Jok,
All with him takis.

* Owing to the Marchmen being divided into large clans, bearing the same sirname, individuals were usually distinguished by some epithet, derived from their place of residence, personal qualities, or descent. Thus, every distinguished moss-trooper had, what is here called, a *to-name*, or *nom de guerre*, in addition to his family name.

Thay leif not spindell, spoone, nor speit;
Bed, boster, blanket, sark, nor scheit;
Johne of the Parke
Ryps kist and ark;
For all sic wark
He is richt meit.

He is weil kend, John of the Syde;
A greater theif did never ryde.
He never tyris
For to brek byris;
Ouir muir and myris
Ouir guide ane gyde.

Thair is ane, callet Clement's Hob,
Fra ilk puir wyfe reifis the wob,
And all the lave,
Quhatever they haife,
The devil recave
Thairfoir his gob.

To sic grit stouth quha eir wald trow it,
Bot gif some great man is allowit,
Rycht sair I trew,
Thocht it be rew:
Thair is sa few
That dar avow it.

Of sum great men they have sic gait,
That redy are thame to debait,
And will up weir
Thair stolen geir;
That nane dare steir
Thame air nor late.

Quhat causis theifis us ourgang,
Bot want of justice us amang?
Nane takis cair,
Thocht all for fear;
Na man will spair
Now to do wrang.

Of stouth thocht now thay come gude speid,
That nother of men nor God has dreid;
Yet, or I die,
Sum sall thame sie,
Hing on a trie
Quhill thay be deid—

Quo' Sir R. M. *of* Lethington, *knicht.*

APPENDIX, No. IV.

BOND OF ALLIANCE,

OR

FEUD STAUNCHING,

BETWIXT

THE CLANS OF SCOTT AND KER.

The battle of Melrose (see Introduction, p. xxi.) occasioned a deadly feud betwixt the names of Scott and Ker. The following indenture was designed to reconcile their quarrel. But the alliance, if it ever took effect, was not of long duration; for the feud again broke out about 1553, when Sir Walter Scott was slain by the Kers in the streets of Edinburgh.

"Thir indentures, made at Ancrum the 16th of March, 1529 years, contains, purports, and bears leil and suith-

fast witnessing, That it is appointed, agreed, and finally accorded betwixt honourable men; that is to say, Walter Ker of Cessford, Andrew Ker of Fairnieherst, Mark Ker of Dolphinston, George Kerr, tutor of Cessford, and Andrew Ker of Primesideloch, for themselves, kin, friends, mentenants, assisters, allies, adherents, and partakers, on the one part; and Walter Scot of Branxholm, knight, Robert Scot of Allanhaugh, Robert Scot, tutor of Howpaisly, John Scot of Roberton, and Walter Scot of Stirkshaws, for themselves, their kin, friends, mentenants, servants, assisters, and adherents, on the other part; in manner, form, and effect, as after follows: For staunching all discord and variance betwixt them, and for furthbearing of the king's authority, and punishing trespasses, and for amending all slaughters, heritages, and steedings and all other pleas concerning thereto, either of these parties to others, and for unitié, friendship, and concord, to be had in time coming, 'twixt them, of our sovereign lord's special command: that is to say, either of the said parties, be the tenor hereof, remits and forgives to others the rancour, hatred, and malice of their hearts; and the said Walter Scott of Branxholm shall gang, or cause gang, at the will of the party, to the four head pilgrimages of Scotland, and shall say a mass for the souls of umquhile Andrew Ker of Cessford, and them that were slain in his company, in the field of Melrose; and, upon his expence, shall cause a chaplain say a mass daily, when he is disposed, in what place the said Walter Ker and his friends

pleases, for the weil of the said souls, for the space of five years next to come.—Mark Ker of Dolphinston, Andrew Kerr of Graden, shall gang at the will of the party, to the four head pilgrimages of Scotland, and shall gar say a mass for the souls of umquhile James Scot of Eskirk, and other Scots, their friends, slain in the field of Melrose; and, upon their expense, shall gar a chaplain say a mass daily, when he is disposed, for the heal of their souls, where the said Walter Scot and his friends pleases, for the space of three years next to come: and the said Walter Scott of Branxholm shall marry his son and heir upon one of the said Walter Ker his sisters; he paying therefor a competent portion to the said Walter Ker and his heir, at the sight of the friends of baith parties. And also, baith the saids parties bind and oblige them, be the faith and truth of their bodies, that they abide at the decreet and deliverance of the six men chosen arbiters, anent all other matters, quarrels, actiones, and debates, whilk either of them likes to propone against others betwixt the saids parties: and also the six arbiters are bound and obliged to decreet and deliver, and give forth their deliverance thereuntil, within the year and day after the date hereof—And attour, either of the saids parties bind and oblige them, by the faith and truth of their bodies, ilk ane to others, that they shall be leil and true to others, and neither of them will another's skaith, but they shall let it at their power, and give to others their best counsel, and it be asked; and shall take leil and aeffald part ilk ane with others, with their kin,

friends, servants, allies, and partakers, in all and sundry their actions, quarrels, and debates, against all that live and die may (the allegiance of our sovereign lord the king allenarly be excepted.)—And for the obliging and keeping all thir premises above written, baith the saids parties are bound and obliged, ilk ane to others, be the faith and truth of their bodies, but fraud or guile, under the pain of perjury, men-swearing, defalcation, and breaking of the bond of deadly. And, in witness of the whilk, ilk ane to the procuratory of this indenture remain with the said Walter Scot and his friend, the said Walter Ker of Cessford has affixed his proper seal, with his subscription manual, and with the subscription of the said Andrew Ker of Fairnieherst, Mark Ker of Dolphinston, George Ker, tutor of Cessford, and Andrew Ker of Primesideloch, before these witnesses, Mr Andrew Drurie, Abbot of Melrose, and George Douglas of Boonjedward, John Riddel of that ilk, and William Stewart.

Sic Subscribitur,

WALTER KER of Cessford.
ANDREW KER of Fairnieherst.
MARK KER.
GEORGE KER.
ANDREW KER of Primesideloch."

N. B. The four pilgrimages are Scoon, Dundee, Paisley, and Melrose.

APPENDIX, No. V.

ANE INTERLUDE

OF THE LAYING OF A GAIST.

THIS burlesque poem is preserved in the Bannatyne MSS. It is in the same strain with the verses concerning the *Gyr Carline* (Vol. II.) As the mention of *Bettokis Bowr* occurs in both pieces, and as the scene of both is laid in East Lothian, they are perhaps composed by the same author. The humour of these fragments seems to have been directed against the superstitions of Rome; but it is now become very obscure. Nevertheless, the verses are worthy of preservation, for the sake of the ancient language and allusions.

Listen lordis, I sall you tell,
Off ane very grit marvell,
Off Lord Fergussis gaist.
How meikle Sir Andro it chest,

Unto Beittokis bour,
The silly sawle to succour:
And he has written unto me,
Auld storeis for to se,
Gif it appinis him to meit,
How he sall conjure the spreit:
And I haif red mony quars, ...
Bath the Donet, and Dominus que pars,
Ryme maid, and als redene,
Baith Inglis and Latene:
And ane story haif I to reid,
Passes Bonitatem in the creid.
To conjure the littil gaist he mon haif
Of tod's tail ten thraif,
And kast the grit holy water
With pater noster, pitter patter;
And ye man sit in a compas,
And cry, Harbert tuthless.
Drag thou, and ye's draw,
And sit thair quhil cok craw.
The compas mon hallowit be
With aspergis me Domine:
The haly writ schawis als
Thair man be hung about your hals
Pricket in ane wool poik
Of neis powder ane grit loik.
Thir thingis mon ye beir,
Brynt in ane doggis eir,

Ane pluck, ane pindill, and ane palme cors,
Thre tuskis of ane auld hors,
And of ane yallow wob the warp,
The boddome of ane awld herp,
The heid of ane cuttit reill,
The band of an awld quheill,
The taill of ane yield sow,
And ane bait of blew wow,
Ane botene, and ane brechame,
And ane quhorle made of lame,
To luke out at the littil boir,
And cry, Crystis crosse, you befoir:
And quhen you see the littil gaist,
Cummand to you in all haist,
Cry loud, Cryste eleisone,
And speir quhat law it levis on?
And gif it sayis on Godis ley,
Than to the littil gaist ye say,
With braid benedicite;
—" Littil gaist, I conjure the,
With lierie and larie,
Bayth fra God, and Sanct Marie,
First with ane fischis mouth,
And syne with ane sowlis towth,
With ten pertane tais,
And nyne knokis of windil strais,
With thre heidis of curle doddy."—
And bid the gaist turn in a boddy.

Then after this conjuration,
The littil gaist will fall in soun,
And thair efter downly,
Cryand mercy petously;
Than with your left heil sane,
And it will nevir cum agane,
As meikle as a mige amaist.*

He had a littil wee leg,
And it wes cant as any cleg,
It wes wynd in ane wynden schet,
Baythe the handis and the feit:
Suppose this gaist was litill
Yit it stal Godis quhitell;
It stal fra peteous Abrahame,
Ane quhorle and ane quhim quhame;
It stal fra ye carle of ye mone
Ane payr of awld yin schone;
It rane to Pencatelane,
And wirreit ane awld chaplane;
This litil gaist did na mair ill
But clok lyk a corn mill;
And it wald play and hop,
About the heid ane stra strop;
And it wald sing and it wald dance,
Oure fute, and Orliance.

* Apparently some lines are here omitted.

Quha conjurit the litill gaist say ye?
Nane but the littil Spensie fle,
That with her wit and her ingyne,
Gart the gaist leif agane;
And sune mareit the gaist the fle,
And croun'd him King of Kandelie;
And they gat theme betwene
Orpheus King, and Elpha Quene.*
To reid quha will this gentil geist,
Ye hard it not at Cockilby's feist.†

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* This seems to allude to the old romance of *Orfeo and Heurodis*, from which the reader will find some extracts, vol. II. The wife of *Orpheus* is here called *Elpha*, probably from her having been extracted by the elves, or fairies.

† Alluding to a strange unintelligible poem in the Bannatyne MSS., called *Cockelby's Sow*.

APPENDIX, No. VI.

SUPPLEMENTAL STANZAS

TO COLLINS'S ODE

ON

THE SUPERSTITIONS OF THE HIGHLANDS.

BY

WILLIAM ERSKINE, Esq.

ADVOCATE.

THE editor embraces this opportunity of presenting the reader with the following stanzas, intended to commemorate some striking Scottish superstitions, omitted by Collins in his ode upon that subject; and which, if the editor can judge with impartiality of the production of a valued friend, will be found worthy of the sublime original. The reader must observe, that these verses form

Thy muse may tell, how, when at
To meet her love beneath the tw
O'er many a broom-clad brae and h
In merry mood the village maid
There, on a streamlet's margin as s
Chaunting some carrol till her sw
With visage deadly pale, in pensive
Beneath a wither'd fir his form h
Shrieking and sad, she bends her e
When, mid dire heaths, where fli
The whilst the moon sheds dim a s
The airy funeral meets her blaste
When, trembling, weak, she gains l
Where magpies scatter notes of p
Some one shall tell, while tears in t
That, just when twilight dimm'd t
Far in his lonely shiel her hapless s

Let these sad strains to lighter sounds give place!
Bid thy brisk viol warble measures gay!
For, see! recall'd by thy resistless lay,
Once more the Brownie shews his honest face.
Hail, from thy wanderings long, my much-loved sprite!
Thou friend, thou lover of the lowly, hail!
Tell, in what realms thou sport'st thy merry night,
Trail'st the long mop, or whirl'st the mimic flail.
Where dost thou deck thy much-disordered hall,
While the tired damsel in Elysium sleeps,
With early voice to drowsy workman call,
Or lull the dame, while mirth his vigils keeps?
'Twas thus in Caledonia's domes, 'tis said,
Thou ply'dst the kindly task in years of yore:
At last, in luckless hour, some erring maid
Spread in thy nightly cell of viands store:
Ne'er was thy form beheld among their mountains more.*

Then wake (for well thou canst) that wond'rous lay,
How, while around the thoughtless matrons sleep,
Soft o'er the floor the treach'rous fairies creep,
And bear the smiling infant far away:
How starts the nurse, when, for her lovely child,
She sees at dawn a gaping idiot stare!
O snatch the innocent from demons vilde,
And save the parents fond from fell despair!

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* See Introduction, p. cvii.

In a deep cave the trusty menials wait,
When from their hilly dens, at midnight's hour,
Forth rush the fairy elves in mimic state,
And o'er the moonlight-heath with swiftness scour:
In glittering arms the little horsemen shine;
Last, on a milk-white steed, with targe of gold,
A fay of might appears, whose arms entwine
The lost, lamented child! the shepherds bold*
The unconscious infant tear from his unhallowed hold.

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* For an account of the Fairy superstition, see *Introduction to the Tale of Tamlane.*

APPENDIX, No. VII.

EXCOMMUNICATION OF BORDER ROBBERS,

BY RICHARD FOX,

BISHOP OF DURHAM, IN THE TIME OF HENRY VII.

This very curious document, which contains some particulars highly illustrative of the state of Border manners, was given to the Editor by his valued friend, Richard Surtees, Esq. of Mainsforth, in the bishoprick of Durham, eminent for his knowledge of Border antiquities.

RICH. FOX. Bp. TEMP. H. J.

MONITO CONTRA FAMOSOS LATRONES DE TYNDALL ET RYDSDALL.

RICARDUS permissione divina Dunelm. Episcopus dilectis Nobis Magro. Georg. Ogle, A.M. necnon universis et singulis ecclesiarum parochialium infra Tyndalle et Riddysdale nostræ dioces. constitutarem Rectoribus et Vicariis necnon Capellarum et Cantanarum, inibi Capellanis Curatis et non Curatis Salutem. Quia tam fama quam notorietate facti referentibus ad aures nostras delatum est quod nonnulli Villas Villulas Hamelectas et alia loca de Tyndale et Ryddisdalle inhabitantes nec divina nec hu-

villulis, hamelectis, ad et in episcopatun
mitatum Northumbriæ aliaq. loca dictis l
et Ryddisdalle confinia et adjacentia, Lat
tium ac Deprædantium, more, per diuturn
sæpius, et sæpissime, publice, et manife
incurrentes, prout adhuc indies, cotidie,
sæpissime noctu dieq. publice et manifes
furta, latrocinia, rapinas, et depredationes
tentes, pecora et catalla in eisdem inven
datiq. fuerunt, et ab eisdem ad partes
Tyndall et Ryddisdalle prædict. aliaq. l
finia, ed libitum suarum voluntatum asp
gaverunt, et abigerunt, prout adhuc indie
rei, quam, hujusmodi furtis, latrociniis,
prædationibus, dediti, furantur, depræd
abigunt. Et quod ipso delicto deterius es
et alia loca publica, iniquitatibus, furtis, l
prædationibus suis hujusmodi gloriantes s
sisse, et de cætero committere, palam et
non desinant; hisq. malis non contenti se
furto, latrocinium latrocinio, rapinam ra
tionem deprædationi, aliaq. mala malis ac
hujusmodi furtorum latrociniorum. et d

tes, receptant, nutriunt, hospitantur, confovent et confortant; suosq. liberos, servientes, atq. famulos in hujusmodi latrociniorum, furtorum, deprædationum et rapinarum perpetratione, quod maxime detestandum est, educant, et exercitant, adeo ut furtum, latrocinium, deprædationem, rapinam, aut robberiam hujusmodi committere, aut eidem, consentire non solum non vereantur, sed crassam, immo verius quæsitam ignorantiam prætendentes, et dictas rapinas, furtum et deprædationes, tanquam artem, unde victum suum querant, publice et manifeste profitentes, crimen esse non agnoscunt: Suntq. nonnulli viri in partibus prædictis, quorum quidam sunt ministri justitiæ et regii justiciarii, qui eosdem fures, latrones, depredatores, et raptores, aliosq. malefactores rectificare et justificare deberent, quidam vero sunt viri nobiles et potentes in confinibus et territoriis de Tyndalle et Ryddisdalle prædictis, aliisq. villis eisdem convicinis, circumvicinis, et adjacentibus degentes et commorantes, qui fures, latrones, raptores, deprædatores prædictos ab hujusmodi criminibus prædictis refrænare et impedire possent, si suas ad id manus, ut deberent, porrigerent adjutrices. Quorum omnium, viz. justitiæ ministrorum, et aliorum, saltem nobilium et potentium in partibus, et territoriis de Tyndalle et Ryddysdalle prædictis, aliisq. villis et locis eisdem convicinis et circumvicinis adjacentium, quidam conniventi oculo, quidam ex pacto et collusione, quidam vero propter lucrum, quod cum eis participant, nonnulli siquidem propter amorem, favorem,

familiaritatem, affinitatem, et sanguinis conjunctionem, necnon, nominis, indemnitatem hujusmodi furtis, latrociniis, rapinis, et deprædationibus aliquando tacite, interdum etenim expresse consentientes, fures ipsos, latrones, et deprædatores per eorum terras et districtus cum rebus, pecoribus et catallis, quæ furati sunt, liberum habere transitum, scienter tolerant et permittant; ac nonnunquam eosdem cum rebus, pecoribus, et catallis raptis, deprædatis, et furti ablatis receptarunt, prout adhuc recipiunt indies et receptant, non ignorantes receptatores hujusmodi quoscunq. non minori pœna dignos quam raptores, fures, latrones, et prædones: Nam si non esset qui foveret, reciperet, et confortaret, nullus rapinam, latrocinium, deprædationes hujusmodi committeret, committereve auderet: Eodemq. delicto singulas villas, villulas, hamelectas dictarum partium de Tyndall et Ryddisdall laborare intelleximus, quod maxime abhorrendum est; nam latrones, fures, raptores, deprædatores famosos et manifestos sic, ut præfertur, recipiunt, hospitantur, fovent, et nutriunt, ac inter eos et cum eisdem in partibus præsentibus, ut vicinos suos familiares, habitare permittunt, et ad eadem facinora reiterando invitant, et confortant publice, palam, et manifeste: Compluresq. capellanos, sæpe nominatarum partium et territoriorum de Tyndalle et Ryddysdalle, publicos et manifestos concubinarios, irregulares, suspensos, excommunicatos, et interdictos, necnon literarum penitus ignaros, adeo ut per decennium celebrantes, nec ipsa quidem verba sacramen-

talia, uti quibusdam eorum opponentes, experti sumus, legere sciant; nonnullos etiam non ordinatos, sed sacerdotii effigiem duntaxat prætendentes, non modo in locis sacris et dedicatis, verum etiam in prophanis et interdictis ac miserabiliter ruinosis; necnon vestimentis ruptis, laceratis, et fœdissimis, nec divino, immo nec humano officio aut servitio dignis, quibus, deum contemnentes, induti Divina celebrare, Sacraq. et Sacramentalia ministrare intelleximus. Dicti præterea capellani supradictis furibus, latronibus, deprædatoribus, receptatoribus, et raptoribus manifestis et famosis, sacramenta et sacramentalia ministrant, sine debita restitutione aut animo restituendi, ut ex facti evidentia constat, sicq. eos sine cautione de restituendo, ecclesiasticæ sepulturæ, cum ex sacrorum canonum, et sanctorum patrum institutis hæc facere districte prohibentur, passim committant, in animarum suarum grave periculum, aliorumq. Christi fidelium exemplum perniciosum plurimorumq. spoliatorum et privatorum bonis, rebus, pecoribus, et catallis suis hujusmodi, damnum non modicum et gravamen. Nos igitur animarum hujusmodi malefactorum saluti providere cupientes, spoliatorumq. et privatorum hujusmodi jacturis et dispendiis paternali affectu compatientes et quantum in nobis est, remedium in hac parte apponere, ut tenemur, volentes, vobis omnibus et singulis Rectoribus, Vicariis, Capellanis, Curatis, et non Curatis prædictis tenere præsentium, in virtute sanctæ obedientiæ firmiter injungendo mandamus, quatenus proximis diebus domini-

cis et festivis, intermissarum et aliorum divinorum solemnia in ecclesiis et capellis vestris, dum major in eisdem aderit populi multitudo, omnes et singulos fures, latrones, raptores, prædones, deprædatores, et eos præsertim quos famosos et manifestos latrones, raptores, et deprædatores fuisse et esse intelleximus, quorum nomina in præsenti rescripto sunt descripta, peremptorie moneatis, quos nos etiam tenore præsentium primo, secundo, et tertio, ac peremtorie monemus, ut ipsi omnes et singuli ab hujusmodi incursionibus, furtis, latrociniis, rapinis, deprædationibus de cætero se abstineant et desistant, sub pœna majoris excommunicationis sententiæ, quam ex sacrorum canonum institutis incurrunt, sicq. eos et eorum quemlibet incurrere volumus ipso facto.

Citetis insuper, seu citari faciatis peremtorie omnes et singulos famosos et manifestos fures, latrones, raptores, et deprædatores, quorum nomina sunt in dorso præsentis schedulæ sive rescripti descripta, et eorum quemlibet, quod compareant, sicq. quilibet eorum compareat coram nobis aut nostro in hac parte, commissario in Galilea Ecclesiæ nostræ Cathedralis Dunelm. locoq. consistoriali ejusdem, sexto die post citationem, eis et eorum cuilibet, in hac parte factam, si juridicus fuerit, alioquin proximo die juridico extunc sequente, quo die nos aut commissarium nostrum hujusmodi ibidem ad jura reddend. hora consueta pro tribunali sedere contigerit, certis articulis et interrogatoriis, meram animarum suarum salutem et correctionem concernentibus, commissario eisdem et eorum

cuilibet in eorum adventu ex officio nostro mero objiciendis personaliter responsuri et parituri. Moneatis insuper sic, ut præmittitur, peremptorie omnes et singulos ministros justitiæ, cæterosq. viros nobiles et potentes, dictas partes et territoria de Tyndall et Ryddysdall, et loca vicina et circumjacentia inhabitantes, necnon omnes et singulos Capellanos, Curatos et non Curatos in eisdem partibus et territoriis de Tyndall et Ryddysdall divina celebrantes, quatenus ipsi justitiæ ministri et viri nobiles et potentes omnes et singulos fures et latrones, necnon raptores et deprædatores, in et ad partes et territoria de Tyndall et Ryddysdall cum rebus, pecoribus et catallis furtive oblatis confugientes, necnon omnes et singulos fures, latrones, et deprædatores in eisdem partibus et territoriis de Tyndall et Ryddysdall commorantes et degentes, præsertim famosos, publicos, notorios, et manifestos nullatenus foveant, nutriant, aut confortent, hospitentur, aut manuteneant, immo eosdem fures, latrones, et deprædatores quoscunq. ab eisdem partibus et territoriis de Tyndall et Ryddysdall amoveant, sicq. amoveri faciant et procurent, seu saltem eosdem fures, latrones, deprædatores, et raptores quoscunq. capiant, sicq. capi facient eosdemq. rectificent et justificent.

Capellani vero, Curati, et non Curati in eisdem partibus et territoriis divina celebrantes, hujusmodi fures, latrones, et deprædatores, saltem publicos, notorios, et manifestos ad sacramenta pœnitentiæ, eucharistiæ, sepulturæ, cæteraq. sacramenta aut sacramentalia sine

debita restitutione spoliatis facta aut sufficienti cautione de restituendo præstita, nisi in mortis articulo, et tunc ad sacramenta pœnitentiæ et eucharistiæ duntaxat, non autem ad sepulturam, sub pœna suspensionis ab officio et beneficio, nullatenus admittant.

Desiderantur sequentia, et conclusio, cum transgressorum nominibus propter hiatum quinq. foliorum in registro.

TESTIMONIALIS LITERA DNI. EPISCOPI SUPER ABSOLUTIONE QUORUNDAM LATRONUM, ET INJUNCTIONES.

Ricardus permissione divina Dunelm. Episcopus universis et singulis Rectoribus, Vicariis, Capellanis, Curatis, et non Curatis quibuscunq. curam animarum habentibus, infra territorium de Tyndall et Ryddysdall nostræ dioces. Salutem, gratiam, et benedictionem. Sciatis Sandy Charelton, Crysty Milborn, Howy Milborn, Atkin Milborn, filium Willielmi Milborn, Laury Robeson, Davy Robeson, Sandy Robeson, Gilly Tod of ye Crake-aller of Smebemouth, George Tod, Rouly Tod, Tammy Tod, Sandy Tod of ye Shawe, George Mershell, Sandy Hunter, a sententia excommunicationis, quam in eosdem, pro eorum contumatia promulgavimus, per nos absolutos esse, et communioni hominum ac sacris ecclesiæ restitutos, seq. nostræ correctioni humiliter submittentes, injunctiones, salutaremve suscepisse pœnitentiam, videlicet ut de cætero rapinam, furtum, aut latrocinium publice, manifeste, vel occulte

non committant, nec aliquis eorum committat, aut talia committenti auxilium, consilium, vel favorem præstent, nec aliquis eorum præstet, seu talia committentium consilium quovismodo celent seu celet, celarive procurent seu procuret. Item quod post diem Merc. proxime futurum, viz. 26 diem mensis Septembris jam instant non incedant nec aliquis eor. incedat pedes aut eques indictus subicinio Anglice *a Jacke* aut galea, Anglice *a Salet or a Knapescall*, aut aliis armis defensivis quibusc. nec. equitent aut eor. aliquis equitet super equo aut equa cujus valor, communi hominum æstimatione, excedet six solidos et octo denarios, nisi contra Scotos vel alios regis inimicos. Injungimus præterea quod postquam ingressi fuerint vel eor. aliquis ingressus fuerit cæmiterium, ecclesiæ vel capellæ cujuscunque infra territorium de Tynedall et Riddisdall ad divina inibi audiend. vel orationis inibi faciend. seu alia quæcunq. faciend. abjiciant seu deponant, sicq. eor. quilibet abjiciat et deponat arma invasiva quæc. si quæ habeant, si ad longitudinem unius cubiti se extendant et quamdiu fuerint seu ali quis eor. fuerit infra eand. ecl^iam. seu capell. aut cæmiter. ejusd. cum nullo, sermonem aut verbum habeat nisi cum Curato aut Sacerdote illius eccl^ie vel capellæ sub pœna excomm. majoris quam in eos et eorum quemlibet casu quo his nostris injunctionibus aut uni eor. non paruerint cum effectu exnunc prout extunc et extunc prout exnunc promulgamus, in scriptis justitia mediante vobis igitur, &c. Dat. in castro n^ro de Norham sub s. n^ro. 25 die mens. Sept. A. D. 1498.

APPENDIX, No. VIII.

DOUBLE OF THE CONTRACT

BETWIXT THE

KING AND SEVERAL OF HIS SUBJECTS.

[The original of this curious brief, by which the Borderers renounced their vocation of theft and robbery, is in the hands of the Editor, whose ancestor is one of the parties subscribing. Similar bonds were doubtless executed by the other clans; among whom copies would be distributed for their subscription. This appears to have referred chiefly to the clan of Scott.]

We noblemen, barons, landit gentilmen, and uthers, under subscryveing, deiply considering with ourselves the wrackfull and intollerable calamities soe long sustained be us, our frends, our servants, and inhabitants, upon proper lands and heretages, at the hands of theives and murtherers, within the Highlands and Bordours; whereby our bloods have been cruelly shed, our goods

be opin depredation violentlie reft and spulsied, and our most plentifull and profitable roumes, for fear of their incursions and oppressions, left desolat and desert, without tennent or inhabitant, to our inexcuseable reproach and shameful wrack, if wee sall any longer neglect to use sic lawfull and allowable remedies as God, our honor, and the memorable examples of our worthie predecessors, still extant in the records of ther days, craves at our hands, for the repressing of their insolence: And, considering therwithall, the royall and princelie disposition of our most gracious soverane lord, utterit everie way for the suppressing of this infamous byke of lawless limmers, and quhat earnest and faithfull dutie our ranks and places craves of us, for the furtherance of his Majesties most honorable resolution at this tyme, for the extermination of sic a venime, whereby our oursights hithertill has bein na litle hinder to the good success of the great care and paynes tane alwayes be his highness and his secret counsell, to work the said effect: Thairfore, and for remeid of our bypast slouth that way, in the fear of God, and with his Majesties gracious approbation and allowance, we all and everie ane of us, have solemnly avowit, sworne, and protestit, like as, be the tenor heirof we avow, swear, and protest, upon our consciences and honors, that, as we are in hearts trew and faithfull, and obedient subjects, to the King's Majestie, our sovereign lord and his authoritie, and alwayes answerable to his hienes laws; so, in our

hearts, we abhorre, dampne, and detest all treason, murther, fire-ryseing, reviseing of women, thift, reset of thift, fortifeieng or assisting with theives, shedding of true mens blood, common and manifest oppression, reset of persons excommunicat, or at the horne, for criminall causes, with the authors and committers thereof whatsumever; in further taken whereof, we bind and obleis us, our aires and successors of our lands and heretages, to our soverane lord and his successors, that, within ten dayes after our subscription to the present, we sall discharge, and be oppin proclamation at the mercat-croces of heid-burrowes within the shrifdomes, quherin the theives and limmers dwell, as also, be particular intimation to themselfs, give up all bands of friendship, kyndnes, oversight, maintenance, or assureance, if ony we have, with common theives and broken clans or branches, unanswereable to his hienes lawes; and sall, fra then furth, affauldlie and truelie, joyne and concurre together, als weill in action as in heart, to the pursute, with fire and sword, of all and whatsumever within this realme, of whatsumever clane, qualitie, or surname, who being charged, be opin proclamacione, to compeir to answer to complaints, and to relieve ther masters at his majestie and true mens hands, are or sall for ther disobedience be denunced fugitives and outlawes, together with whatsoever ther partakers, supliers, and recepters, and all sic other, as frae the tyme they be denunced fugitives, sall furnish to them,

ther wyfes or familles, meat, drink, herbore, or other confort quhatsumever: As lykewayes we bind and oblein us, in maner foresaid, that if any persone, dwelling within our houses, upon our lands, within our tackes, steadings, roumes, portiounes, bailleries, or other office or jurisdiction quhatsumever, commits ony of the crymes before expreimit, or any uther punishable be lyfe or member, we, or any of us, under quhom the said persone dwells, being required thereto be his majesties letters, valyentnes, or charges, or be his highnes consell or justice, sall neither directlie, nor indirectlie, give any warning or advertisement to him, quherby he may eschew his taking; but trewlie and effauldlie sall apprehend, bring and present him to underly his tryell of the cryme quherof he is dilatit, upon fiftein dayes warneing, without shift or excuse quhatsumever, as we sall answer to his majestie upon our honors, and under the paynes contained in the generall bond and acts of parliament quhatsumever; and sall be comptable to our soverane lord and his hienes thesaurer, for their escheats, in cace they be convict; and, in cace the persone or persons sa dilatit, becomes fugitives, wherby we cannot apprehend them to be presentit, we sall expell, put and hold them furth of our bounds, heretages, tacks, and steidings, roumes, bailliaries, and jurisdictions quhatsumever, togither with ther wyfes, bairnes, and families, and sall take fra them their stocke and steiding, and put in other persones to occupy the same; and if it sall happin the saids malefactors to resort or come

again within our bounds, or be sufferit to remain therein, with our witting, twelff hours togithir, or to repair with our knowledge to oppin mercat unapprehendit, in that cace we grant and confes us to be culpable of quhatsumever crymes or skaithes committit be them at any time before or therefter: And if it shall happen at any tyme heirefter, ony creatures, rebells to our soverane lords authoritie, for criminall causes, to repair within our bounds, or any pairt of the shirriffdome quharein we dwell, we sall be readie to ryse and concurre, with our freinds and forces, to ther pursute, till they be either apprehendit and presented to justice, or put out of the shirriffdome quharein we dwell; moreover, none of us herafter sall tryst or assure with any declared theeves or fugitives, but quhensoever any effray of theeves or reivers happens within our bounds or jurisdictions forsaids, we sall at the affray or forray be ourselves, our servants, kin, freinds, and sae many partakers as we may get, ryse, follow, and pursue the saids theeves and reivers, at the outermost of our power, as we wold doe to the rescue of our owne proper goods in cace they were in the lyke danger, being alwayes warned thereto, be the scout-baillie in the countrie, requisitione of partie, or otherwayes quhatsumever: And if it be found, that we ly still at siclike effrayes, and suffers the saids theeves and rubbers to pass throw our boundis, without pursueing them and making uther thorture or impediment we may, in that cace we accept on us the guiltiness of quhatsumever theft or uther cryme that they commit, as perters with them therin

and punisheable therefore, conforme to the act of parliament: And if it shall happin any stowth-reiff or oppression to be committed at any tyme heirefter, upon any his hienes subjects, be any inhabitants within our boundis and jurisdictionis forsaids, the same being notified to us be the owners of the goods, or any uther follower therof in ther names, and the persone and place showin to us be quhom the gudes are stollen, and quhar they are resett within our boundis, we sall, immediatlie therefter, be ourselves, or be some speciall freind or servant, ayde and addresse us to the said place, and finding the goods ther, shall sie them rendered to the follower, without gratitude or good deid, and therewith sall apprehend the theif, if he be present on the ground, or can be found within our bounds, then, or at any tyme therefter, and present him to his majestie, or to his justice, to be punished according to his merit; or, if we cannot find him, we sall intimate his name to the shriff, stewart, or wardane, to be denunced fugitives be them at the mercat-croce of the next heidburgh, that he, his wyfe, and familie, therefter may be used in manner foresaid: Likewayes, that nane of us heirefter sall, aither opinlie or privilie, for any theif-hider, entertainer, or resetter, of theft or theftous goods, assist nor defend them directlie nor indirectlie, solisit for their impunitie, or bear grudge, rancoure, or quarrell againes any man for their dilatione, apprehension, or pursute in any sort, under the

paine of infame and acceptance upon us of the guiltines of the said cryme, in cace they be convict: And if it sall happen us, or any of us, at ony tyme heirefter, to meit with ony notorious theif or lymmer, whom we may tak, we sall not faillie to apprehend, keip, and detaine him, in sure capptivitie and firmance, unfred or set to libertie, upon quhatsumever band, promise, restitutione, or assurance, he can giue us; but sall present him to his majestie, his counsell, or justice, to be punished for his offence, under the paine, likewayes, to be repute culpable of his theftuous deids, and punishable accordinglie: And finallie, that we ourselves and all sic persons quhatsumever, as dwells upon our lands and others forsaids, sall alwayes be answerable to our soverane lord and his authoritie, and sall compeir before his hieness and his counsell, quhensoever we shall happin to be charged for that effect, under the paines contained in the acts of caution found for observation of the generall bands: And gif for execution of any of the premisses, we, or any of us, be quarrelled be ony clan, brensche, or surname, to quhom the theeves pertaines, we bind and obleis us and our foresaids, affauldlie and truelie, to concurre and assist with others against the brensch, surname or clann that quarrells, as if it were our proper caus; and sall esteem the feid, if any follow, equall to us all. In witness quhareof, our soverane lord, in taken of his said approbation, and allowance of the premisses, and evere ane of us, for us

and our forsaids, have subscryvit this present, to be insert and registrat in the books of the secret counsell, and to have the strength of ane decreit thereof against the contraveiners. Wherunto our subscriptions sall serue for ane sufficient warrand for everie ane of us. This band, written by William Wyllie, clerk, *Sic subscribitur*. James R. Lenox, Huntlie, Montross Cancellarius, Angus, Herys, Caithness, Traquair, Lochinvar, Johnstoun, Drumlangric, David Scot of Stobneill. *Apud* Jedburgh, 29th March, 1612, Walter Scot of Goldielands, Walter Scot of Tishelaw, Robert Scot, his sone, James Gledstanes of Cocklaw, William Elliot of Falneish, Robert Scot of Satsheills, Walter Scot of Harden, Sym Scot of Bonniton, and William Scot in Burnfute, in the Water of Aill, with our hands at the pen, led be James Primerose, clerk of consell, at our comand. J. Primerose. Robert Scott in Stirkfield, with hand at the pen, led be William Wyly, wryter of this band. William Scot of Hartwoodmyres, Philip Scot of Dryhope, Robert Scot of Aikwood, William Scot of Howpasly. Jedburgh, 29th of October, 1612, William Scot of Whythaught, James Scot of Gilmerscleugh, and John Dalgleish of Douchar, with our hands at the pen, led be William Wylie, clerk. W. Wyllie.

MINSTRELSY

OF THE

SCOTTISH BORDER.

PART FIRST.

Historical Ballads.

SIR PATRICK SPENS.

ONE edition of the present ballad is well known; having appeared in the *Reliques of Ancient Poetry*, and having been inserted in almost every subsequent collection of Scottish songs. But it seems to have occurred to no editor, that a more complete copy of the song might be procured. That, with which the public is now presented, is taken from two MS. copies,* collated with several verses, recited by the editor's friend, Robert Hamilton, Esq. advocate, being the 16th, and the four which follow. But, even with the assistance of the common copy, the ballad seems still to be a fragment. The cause of Sir Patrick Spens' voyage is, however, pointed out distinctly; and it shews, that the song has claim to high antiquity, as referring to a very remote period in Scottish history.

* That the public might possess this curious fragment as entire as possible, the editor gave one of these copies, which seems the most perfect, to Mr Robert Jamieson, to be inserted in his collection. It also has been published, with many curious illustrations, in Mr John Finlay's Scottish Historical and Romantic Ballads. Glasgow, 1808.

Alexander III. of Scotland died in 1285; and, for the misfortune of his country, as well as his own, he had been bereaved of all his children before his decease. The crown of Scotland descended upon his grand-daughter, Margaret, termed, by our historians, the *Maid of Norway*. She was the only offspring of a marriage betwixt Eric, King of Norway, and Margaret, daughter of Alexander III. The kingdom had been secured to her by the Parliament of Scotland held at Scone, the year preceding her grandfather's death. The regency of Scotland entered into a congress with the ministers of the King of Norway, and with those of England, for the establishment of good order in the kingdom of the infant Princess. Shortly afterwards, Edward I. conceived the idea of matching his eldest son, Edward, Prince of Wales, with the young Queen of Scotland. The plan was eagerly embraced by the Scottish nobles; for, at that time, there was little of the national animosity, which afterwards blazed betwixt the countries, and they patriotically looked forward to the important advantage, of uniting the island of Britain into one kingdom. But Eric of Norway seems to have been unwilling to deliver up his daughter; and, while the negociations were thus protracted, the death of the Maid of Norway effectually crushed a scheme, the consequences of which might have been, that the distinction betwixt England and Scotland would, in our day, have been as obscure and uninteresting as that of the realms of the heptarchy.—HAILES' *Annals*. FORDUN, &c.

The unfortunate voyage of Sir Patrick Spens may really have taken place, for the purpose of bringing back the Maid of Norway to her own kingdom; a purpose which was probably defeated by the jealousy of the Norwegians, and the reluctance of King Eric. I find no traces of the disaster in Scottish history; but, when we consider the meagre materials, whence Scottish history is drawn, this is no conclusive argument against the truth of the tradition. That a Scottish vessel, sent upon such an embassy, must, as represented in the ballad, have been freighted with the noblest youth in the kingdom, is sufficiently probable; and, having been delayed in Norway, till the tempestuous season was come on, its fate can be no matter of surprise. The ambassadors, finally sent by the Scottish nation to receive their Queen, were Sir David Wemyss of Wemyss, and Sir Michael Scot of Balwearie; the same, whose knowledge, surpassing that of his age, procured him the reputation of a wizard. But, perhaps, the expedition of Sir Patrick Spens was previous to their embassy. The introduction of the King into the ballad seems a deviation from history; unless we suppose, that Alexander was, before his death, desirous to see his grand-child and heir.

The Scottish monarchs were much addicted to "sit in Dunfermline town," previous to the accession of the Bruce dynasty. It was a favourite abode of Alexander himself, who was killed by a fall from his horse, in the vicinity, and was buried in the Abbey of Dunfermline.

There is a beautiful German translation of this ballad, as it appeared in the *Reliques*, in the Volk-Lieder of Professor Herder; an elegant work, in which it is only to be regretted, that the actual popular songs of the Germans form so trifling a proportion.

The tune of Mr Hamilton's copy of *Sir Patrick Spens* is different from that to which the words are commonly sung; being less plaintive, and having a bold nautical turn in the close.

SIR PATRICK SPENS.

THE King sits in Dunfermline town,
Drinking the blude-red wine ;
"O* whare will I get a skeely skipper,†
"To sail this new ship of mine!"

O up and spake an eldern knight,
Sat at the King's right knee,—
"Sir Patrick Spens is the best sailor,
"That ever sail'd the sea."

Our King has written a braid letter,
And seal'd it with his hand,
And sent it to Sir Patrick Spens,
Was walking on the strand.

* In singing, the interjection O is added to the second and fourth ines. † *Skeely Skipper*—Skilful mariner.

" To Noroway, to Noroway,
" To Noroway o'er the faem;
" The King's daughter of Noroway,
" 'Tis thou maun bring her hame."

The first word that Sir Patrick read,
Sae loud loud laughed he;
The neist word that Sir Patrick read,
The tear blinded his e'e.

" O wha is this has done this deed,
" And tauld the King o' me,
" To send us out, at this time of the year,
" To sail upon the sea?

" Be it wind, be it weet, be it hail, be it sleet,
" Our ship must sail the faem;
" The King's daughter of Noroway,
" 'Tis we must fetch her hame."

They hoysed their sails on Monenday morn,
Wi' a' the speed they may;
They hae landed in Noroway,
Upon a Wodensday.

They hadna been a week, a week,
In Noroway, but twae,
When that the lords o' Noroway
Began aloud to say,—

"Ye Scottishmen spend a' our King's goud,
"And a' our Queenis fee."
"Ye lie, ye lie, ye liars loud!
"Fu' loud I hear ye lie.

"For I brought as much white monie,
"As gane* my men and me,
"And I brought a half-fou† o' gude red goud,
"Out o'er the sea wi' me.

"Make ready, make ready, my merrymen a'!
"Our gude ship sails the morn."
"Now, ever alake, my master dear,
"I fear a deadly storm!

"I saw the new moon, late yestreen,
"Wi' the auld moon in her arm;
"And, if we gang to sea, master,
"I fear we'll come to harm."

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* *Gane*—Suffice. † *Half-fou*—the eighth part of a peck.

They hadna sail'd a league, a league,
A league but barely three,
When the lift grew dark, and the wind blew loud,
And gurly grew the sea.

The ankers brak, and the topmasts lap,*
It was sic a deadly storm;
And the waves cam o'er the broken ship,
Till a' her sides were torn.

"O where will I get a gude sailor,
"To take my helm in hand,
"Till I get up to the tall top-mast,
"To see if I can spy land?"

"O here am I, a sailor gude,
"To take the helm in hand,
"Till you go up to the tall top-mast;
"But I fear you'll ne'er spy land."

He hadna gane a step, a step,
A step but barely ane,
When a bout flew out of our goodly ship,
And the salt sea it came in.

* *Lap*—Sprang.

" Gae, fetch a web o' the silken claith,
" Another o' the twine,
" And wap them into our ship's side,
" And let na the sea come in."

They fetched a web o' the silken claith,
Another o' the twine,
And they wapped them round that gude ship's side,
But still the sea came in.

O laith, laith, were our gude Scots lords
To weet their cork-heel'd shoon!
But lang or a' the play was play'd,
They wat their hats aboon.

And mony was the feather-bed,
That flatter'd * on the faem;
And mony was the gude lord's son,
That never mair cam hamè.

The ladyes wrang their fingers white,
The maidens tore their hair,
A' for the sake of their true loves;
For them they'll see nae mair.

* *Flattered*—Fluttered, or rather floated, on the foam.

O lang, lang, may the ladyes sit,
Wi' their fans into their hand,
Before they see Sir Patrick Spens
Come sailing to the strand!

And lang, lang, may the maidens sit,
Wi' their goud kaims in their hair,
A' waiting for their ain dear loves!
For them they'll see nae mair.

O forty miles off Aberdeen,
'Tis fifty fathoms deep,
And there lies gude Sir Patrick Spens,
Wi' the Scots lords at his feet.

NOTES

ON

SIR PATRICK SPENS.

To send us out at this time of the year,
To sail upon the sea?—P. 8. v. 3.

By a Scottish act of Parliament, it was enacted, that no ship should be freighted out of the kingdom, with any staple goods, betwixt the feast of St Simon's day and Jude and Candlemas.—*James III. Parliament 2d, chap.* 15. Such was the terror entertained for navigating the North Seas in winter.

When a bout flew out of our goodly ship.—P. 10, v. 5.

I believe a modern seaman would say, a plank had started; which must have been a frequent incident during the infancy of ship-building. Mr Finlay, however, thinks it rather means that a bolt gave way. The remedy applied seems to be that mentioned in *Cook's Voyages*, when, upon some occasion, to stop a leak, which could not be got at in the inside, a quilted sail was brought under the vessel, which, being drawn into the leak by the suction, prevented the entry of more water. Chaucer says,

"There n'is na new guise that it na'as old."

O forty miles off Aberdeen.—P. 12. v. 3.

This concluding verse differs in the three copies of the ballad, which I have collated. The printed edition bears,

"Have owre, have owre to Aberdour;"

And one of the MSS. reads,

"At the back of auld St Johnstone Dykes."

But, in a voyage from Norway, a shipwreck on the north coast seems as probable as either in the Frith of Forth, or Tay; and the ballad states the disaster to have taken place out of sight of land.

AULD MAITLAND.

NEVER BEFORE PUBLISHED.

THIS ballad, notwithstanding its present appearance, has a claim to very high antiquity. It has been preserved by tradition; and is, perhaps, the most authentic instance of a long and very old poem, exclusively thus preserved. It is only known to a few old people upon the sequestered banks of the Ettrick; and is published, as written down from the recitation of the mother of Mr James Hogg,* who sings, or rather chaunts it, with great animation. She learned the ballad from a blind man, who died at the advanced age of ninety, and is said to have been possessed of much traditionary knowledge. Although the language of this poem is much modernized, yet many words, which the reciters have retained without understanding them, still preserve traces of its an-

* This old woman is still alive, and at present resides at Craig of Douglas, in Selkirkshire. 1805.—She is now deceased. 1820.

tiquity. Such are the words *springals* (corruptedly pronounced *springwalls,*) *sowies, portcullize,* and many other appropriate terms of war and chivalry, which could never have been introduced by a modern ballad-maker. The incidents are striking and well managed; and they are in strict conformity with the manners of the age in which they are placed. The editor has, therefore, been induced to illustrate them, at considerable length, by parallel passages from Froissart, and other historians of the period to which the events refer.

The date of the ballad cannot be ascertained with any degree of accuracy. Sir Richard Maitland, the hero of the poem, seems to have been in possession of his estate about 1250; so that, as he survived the commencement of the wars betwixt England and Scotland, in 1296, his prowess against the English, in defence of his castle of Lauder or Thirlestane, must have been exerted during his extreme old age. He seems to have been distinguished for devotion as well as valour; for, A.D. 1249, Dominus Ricardus de Mautlant gave to the Abbey of Dryburgh, "*Terras suas de Haubentside, in territorio suo de Thirle-*"*stane, pro salute animæ suæ, et sponsæ suæ, antecesso-*"*rum suorum et successorum suorum, in perpetuum.*"* He

* There exists also an indenture, or bond, entered into by Patrick, Abbot of Kelsau, and his convent, referring to an engagement betwixt them and Sir Richard Maitland, and Sir William, his eldest son, concerning the lands of Hedderwicke, and the pasturages of Thirlestane and Blythe. This Patrick was Abbot of Kelso betwixt 1258 and 1260.

also gave to the same convent, "*Omnes terras, quas Wal-*
"*terus de Giling tenuit in feodo suo de Thirlestane, et*
"*pastura incommuni de Thirlestane, ad quadraginta oves,*
"*sexaginta vaccas, et ad viginti equos.*"—Cartulary of Dryburgh Abbey, in the Advocates' Library.

From the following ballad, and from the family traditions referred to in the Maitland MSS., Auld Maitland appears to have had three sons; but we learn, from the latter authority, that only one survived him, who was thence surnamed *Burd alane*, which signifies either *unequalled*, or *solitary*. A *Consolation*, addressed to Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington, a poet and scholar who flourished about the middle of the sixteenth century, and who gives name to the Maitland MSS., draws the following parallel betwixt his domestic misfortunes and those of the first Sir Richard, his great ancestor:

Sic destanie and derfe devoring deid
Oft his own hous in hazard put of auld;
Bot your forbeiris, frovard fortounes steid
And bitter blastes, ay buir with breistis bauld;
Luit wanweirdis wock and walter as they wald,
Thair hardie hairtis hawtie and heroik,
For fortounes feid or force wald never fauld;
But stormis withstand with stomak stout and stoik.

Renowned Richert of your race record,
Quhais prais and prowis cannot be expreist;
Mair lustie lynyage nevir haid ane lord,
For he begat the bauldest bairnis and best,
Maist manful men, and madinis most modest,
That ever wes syn Pyramus tym of Troy,
But piteouslie thai peirles perles apest,
Bereft him all bot Buird-allane, a boy.

Himselfe was aiget, his hous hang be a hair,
Duill and distres almaist to deid him draife;
Yet Burd-allane, his only son and air,
As wretched, vyiss, and vallent, as the laive,
His hous uphail'd, quhilk ye with honor haive.
So nature that the lyk invyand name,
* In kindlie cair dois kindly courage craif,
To follow him in fortoune and in fame.

Richerd he wes, Richerd ye are also,
And Maitland als, and magnanime as he;
In als great age, als wrappit are in wo,
Sewin sons† ye haid might contravaill his thrie,
Bot Burd-allane ye haive behind as he:
The lord his linage so inlarge in lyne,
And mony hundreith nepotis grie and grie‡
Sen Richert wes as hundreth yeiris are hyne.

An Consolator Ballad to the Richt Honorabill Sir Richert Maitland of Lethingtoune.—Maitland MSS. in Library of Edinburgh University.

Sir William Mautlant, or Maitland, the eldest and sole surviving son of Sir Richard, ratified and confirmed, to the monks of Dryburgh, "*Omnes terras quas Dominus* "*Ricardus de Mautlant pater suus fecit dictis monachis*

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* i. *e.* Similar family distress demands the same family courage.

† *Sewin sons*—This must include sons-in-law; for the last Sir Richard, like his predecessor, had only three sons, namely, I. William, the famous secretary of Queen Mary; II. Sir John, who alone survived him, and is the *Burd-allane* of the consolation; III. Thomas, a youth of great hopes, who died in Italy. But he had four daughters married to gentlemen of fortune.—PINKERTON'S *List of Scottish Poets*, p. 114.

‡ *Grie and grie*—In regular descent; from *gre*, French.

"*in territorio suo de Thirlestane.*" Sir William is supposed to have died about 1315.—CRAWFORD'S *Peerage.*

Such were the heroes of the ballad. The castle of Thirlestane is situated upon the Leader, near the town of Lauder. Whether the present building, which was erected by Chancellor Maitland, and improved by the Duke of Lauderdale, occupies the site of the ancient castle, I do not know; but it still merits the epithet of a "*darksome house.*" I find no notice of the siege in history; but there is nothing improbable in supposing, that the castle, during the stormy period of the Baliol wars, may have held out against the English. The creation of a nephew of Edward I., for the pleasure of slaying him by the hand of young Maitland, is a poetical licence;* and may induce us to place the date of the composition about the reign of David II., or of his successor, when the real exploits of Maitland, and his sons, were in some degree obscured, as well as magnified, by the lapse of time. The inveterate hatred against the English, founded upon the usurpation of Edward I., glows in every line of the ballad.

Auld Maitland is placed, by Gawain Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld, among the popular heroes of romance, in his allegorical Palice of Honour:†

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* Such liberties with the genealogy of monarchs were common to romancers. Henry the Minstrel makes Wallace slay more than one of King Edward's nephews; and Johnie Armstrong claims the merit of slaying a sister's son of Henry VIII.

† It is impossible to pass over this curious list of Scottish romances without a note; to do any justice to the subject would require an

I saw Raf Coilyear with his thrawin brow,
Crabit John the Reif, and auld Cowkilbeis Sow;
And how the wran cam out of Ailsay,
And Piers Plowman, that meid his workmen few:
Gret Gowmacmorne, and Fyn Mac Cowl, and how
They suld be goddis in Ireland, as they say.
Thair saw I Maitland upon auld beird gray,
Robin Hude, and Gilbert with the quhite hand,
How Hay of Nauchton flew in Madin land.

In this curious verse, the most noted romances, or popular histories, of the poet's day, seem to be noticed. The preceding stanza describes the sports of the field:

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essay.—*Raf Coilyear* is said to have been printed by Lekprevik, in 1572; but no copy of the edition is known to exist, and the hero is forgotten, even by popular tradition.

John the Reif, as well as the former personage, is mentioned by Dunbar, in one of his poems, where he styles mean persons,

Kyne of Rauf Colyard, and Johne the Reif.

They seem to have been robbers; Lord Hailes conjectured John the Reif to be the same with Johnie Armstrong; but, surely, not with his usual accuracy; for the *Pulice of Honour* was printed twenty-eight years before Johnie's execution. John the Reif is mentioned by Lindesay, in his tragedy of *Cardinal Beatoun*:

—disagysit, like John the Raif, he geid.—

Cowkilbeis Sow is a strange legend in the Bannatyne MSS.—See *Complaynt of Scotland*, p. 131.

How the wren came out of Ailsay.—The wren, I know not why, is often celebrated in Scottish song. The testament of the wren is still sung by the children, beginning,

The wren she lies in care's nest,
Wi' meikle dole and pyne.

This may be a modification of the ballad in the text.

and that which follows refers to the tricks of jugailrie; so that the three verses comprehend the whole pastimes of the middle ages, which are aptly represented as the furniture of dame Venus's chamber. The verse, referring to Maitland, is obviously corrupted; the true reading was probably, "*with his* auld beird gray." Indeed

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Piers Plowman is well known. Under the uncouth names of Gow Mac Morn, and of Fyn Mac Cowl, the admirers of Ossian are to recognize Gaul, the son of Morni, and Fingal himself; *heu quantum mutatus ab illo!*

To illustrate the familiar character of *Robin Hood*, would be an insult to my readers. But they may be less acquainted with *Gilbert with the White Hand*, one of his brave followers. He is mentioned in the oldest legend of that outlaw; Ritson's *Robin Hood*, p. 52:

Thryes Robin shot about,
And alway he alist the wand,
And so dyde good *Gylberte*
With the White Hand.

Hay of Nachton I take to be the knight, mentioned by Wyntown, whose feats of war and travel may have become the subject of a romance, or ballad. He fought in Flanders, under Alexander, Earl of Mar, in 1408, and is thus described:—

Lord of the Nachtane, Schire William,
Ane honest knycht, and of gud fame,
A travalit knycht lang before than.

And again, before an engagement,

The Lord of Nachtane, Schire William,
The Hay, a knycht than of gud fame,
Mad Schire Gilbert the Hay, knycht.
Cronykil, B. IX. c. 27.

I apprehend we should read, "How Hay of Nachton *slew* in "Madin Land." Perhaps Madin is a corruption for Maylin, or Milan Land.

the whole verse is full of errors and corruptions; which is the greater pity, as it conveys information to be found no where else.

The descendant of Auld Maitland, Sir Richard of Lethington, seems to have been frequently complimented on the popular renown of his great ancestor. We have already seen one instance; and in an elegant copy of verses in the Maitland MSS., in praise of Sir Richard's seat of Lethington, which he had built or greatly improved, this obvious topic of flattery does not escape the poet. From the terms of his panegyric we learn, that the exploits of Auld Sir Richard with the gray beard, and of his three sons, were "sung in many far countrie, "albeit in rural rhyme;" from which we may infer, that they were narrated rather in the shape of a popular ballad, than in a *romance of price.* If this be the case, the song now published may have undergone little variation since the date of the Maitland MSS.; for, divesting the poem, in praise of Lethington, of its antique spelling, it would run as smoothly, and appear as modern, as any verse in the following ballad. The lines alluded to, are addressed to the castle of Lethington:

And happie art thou sic a place,
That few thy mak are sene:
But yit mair happie far that race
To quhome thou dois pertene.
Quha dois not knaw the Maitland bluid,
The best in all this land?
In quhilk sumtyme the honour stuid
And worship of Scotland.

Of auld Sir Richard, of that name,
We have hard sing and say ;
Of his triumphant nobill fame,
And of his auld baird gray,
And of his nobill sonnis three,
Quhilk that tyme had no maik ;
Quhilk maid Scotland renounit be,
And all England to quaik.

Quhais luifing praysis, made trewlie,
Efter that simple tyme,
Ar sung in monie far countrie,
Albeit in rural rhyme.
And, gif I dar the trueth declair,
And nane me fleitschour call,
I can to him find na compair,
And till his barnis all.

It is a curious circumstance, that this interesting tale, so often referred to by ancient authors, should be now recovered in so perfect a state ; and many readers may be pleased to see the following sensible observations, made by a person born in Ettrick Forest, in the humble situation of a shepherd :—" I am surprised to hear, that " this song is suspected by some to be a modern for- " gery ; the contrary will be best proved, by most of " the old people, hereabouts, having a great part of it " by heart. Many, indeed, are not aware of the man- " ners of this country : till this present age, the poor il- " literate people, in these glens, knew of no other en- " tertainment, in the long winter nights, than repeat- " ing, and listening to, the feats of their ancestors, re- " corded in songs, which I believe to be handed down,

" from father to son, for many generations, although, " no doubt, had a copy been taken, at the end of every " fifty years, there must have been some difference, oc- " casioned by the gradual change of language. I be- " lieve it is thus that many very ancient songs have been " gradually modernized, to the common ear; while, to " the connoisseur, they present marks of their genuine " antiquity."—*Letter to the Editor from* Mr James Hogg. To the observations of my ingenious correspondent I have nothing to add, but that, in this, and a thousand other instances, they accurately coincide with my personal knowledge.

AULD MAITLAND.

THERE lived a king in southern land,
King Edward hight his name;
Unwordily he wore the crown,
Till fifty years were gane.

He had a sister's son o's ain,
Was large of blood and bane;
And afterward, when he came up,
Young Edward hight his name.

One day he came before the king,
And kneel'd low on his knee—
"A boon, a boon, my good uncle,
"I crave to ask of thee!

"At our lang wars, in fair Scotland,
"I fain hae wish'd to be;
"If fifteen hundred waled* wight men
"You'll grant to ride wi' me."

"Thou sall hae thae, thou sall hae mae;
"I say it sickerlie;
"And I mysell, an auld gray man,
"Array'd your host sall see."

King Edward rade, King Edward ran—
I wish him dool and pyne!
Till he had fifteen hundred men
Assembled on the Tyne.

And thrice as many at Berwicke†
Were all for battle bound,
Who, marching forth with false Dunbar,
A ready welcome found.‡

They lighted on the banks of Tweed,
And blew their coals sae het,
And fired the Merse and Teviotdale,
All in an evening late.

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* *Waled*—Chosen.

† North-Berwick, according to some reciters.

‡ Modern, to supply an imperfect stanza.

As they fared up o'er Lammermore,
They burn'd baith up and down,
Untill they came to a darksome house,
Some call it Leader-Town.

"Wha hauds this house?" young Edward cry'd,
"Or wha gies't ower to me?"
A gray-hair'd knight set up his head,
And crackit right crously:

"Of Scotland's king I haud my house;
"He pays me meat and fee;
"And I will keep my gude auld house,
"While my house will keep me."

They laid their sowies to the wall,
Wi' mony a heavy peal;
But he threw ower to them agen
Baith pitch and tar barrel.

With springalds, stanes, and gads of airn,
Amang them fast he threw;
Till mony of the Englishmen
About the wall he slew.

Full fifteen days that braid host lay,
Seiging Auld Maitland keen;
Syne they hae left him, hail and fair,
Within his strength of stane.

Then fifteen barks, all gaily good,
Met them upon a day,
Which they did lade with as much spoil
As they could bear away.

"England's our ain by heritage;
"And what can us withstand,
"Now we hae conquer'd fair Scotland,
"With buckler, bow, and brand?"

Then they are on to the land o' France,
Where auld King Edward lay,
Burning baith castle, tower, and town,
That he met in his way.

Until he came unto that town,
Which some call Billop-Grace;
There were Auld Maitland's sons, a' three,
Learning at school, alas!

The eldest to the youngest said,
"O see ye what I see?
"Gin a' be trew yon standard says,*
"We're fatherless a' three.

"For Scotland's conquer'd up and down;
"Landmen we'll never be:
"Now, will ye go, my brethren two,
"And try some jeopardy?"

Then they hae saddled twa black horse,
Twa black horse and a grey;
And they are on to King Edward's host,
Before the dawn of day.

When they arrived before the host,
They hover'd on the lay—
"Wilt thou lend me our king's standard,
"To bear a little way?"

"Where was thou bred? where was thou born?
"Where, or in what country?"
"In north of England I was born:"
(It needed him to lie.)

* Edward had quartered the arms of Scotland with his own.

"A knight me gat, a lady bore,
"I am a squire of high renowne;
"I well may bear't to any king,
"That ever yet wore crowne."

"He ne'er came of an Englishman,
"Had sic an e'e or bree;
"But thou art the likest Auld Maitland,
"That ever I did see.

"But sic a gloom on ae brow-head,
"Grant I ne'er see agane!
"For mony of our men he slew,
"And mony put to pain."

When Maitland heard his father's name,
An angry man was he!
Then, lifting up a gilt dagger,
Hung low down by his knee,

He stabb'd the knight the standard bore,
He stabb'd him cruellie;
Then caught the standard by the neuk,
And fast away rode he.

" Now, is't na time, brothers," he cried,
" Now, is't na time to flee ?"
" Ay, by my sooth !" they baith replied,
" We'll bear you company."

The youngest turn'd him in a path,
And drew a burnish'd brand,
And fifteen of the foremost slew,
Till back the lave did stand.

He spurr'd the grey into the path,
Till baith his sides they bled—
" Grey ! thou maun carry me away,
" Or my life lies in wad !"

The captain lookit ower the wa',
About the break o' day ;
There he beheld the three Scots lads,
Pursued along the way.

" Pull up portcullize ! down draw-brigg !
" My nephews are at hand ;
" And they sall lodge wi' me to-night,
" In spite of all England."

Whene'er they came within the yate,
They thrust their horse them frae,
And took three lang spears in their hands,
Saying, "Here sall come nae mae!"

And they shot out, and they shot in,
Till it was fairly day;
When mony of the Englishmen
About the draw-brigg lay.

Then they hae yoked carts and wains,
To ca' their dead away,
And shot auld dykes abune the lave,
In gutters where they lay.

The king, at his pavilion door,
Was heard aloud to say,
"Last night, three o' the lads o' France
"My standard stole away.

"Wi' a fause tale, disguised, they came,
"And wi' a fauser trayne;
"And to regain my gaye standard,
"These men were a' down slayne."

" It ill befits," the youngest said,
" A crowned king to lie;
" But, or that I taste meat and drink,
" Reproved sall he be."

He went before King Edward strait,
And kneel'd low on his knee;
" I wad hae leave, my lord," he said,
" To speak a word wi' thee."

The king he turn'd him round about,
And wistna what to say—
Quo' he, " Man, thou's hae leave to speak,
" Tho' thou should speak a' day."

" Ye said, that three young lads o' France
" Your standard stole away,
" Wi' a fause tale, and fauser trayne,
" And mony men did slay:

" But we are nane the lads o' France,
" Nor e'er pretend to be;
" We are three lads o' fair Scotland,
" Auld Maitland's sons are we;

" Nor is there men, in a' your host,
" Daur fight us three to three.'
" Now, by my sooth," young Edward said,
" Weel fitted ye sall be !

" Piercy sall with the eldest fight,
" And Ethert Lunn wi' thee :
" William of Lancaster the third,
" And bring your fourth to me !"

" *Remember, Piercy, aft the Scot*
" *Has cow'rd beneath thy hand:**
" For every drap of Maitland blood,
" I'll gie a rig of land."

He clanked Piercy ower the head,
A deep wound and a sair,
Till the best blood o' his bodie
Came rinning down his hair.

" Now, I've slayne ane ; slay ye the twa ;
" And that's gude companye ;
" And if the twa suld slay ye baith,
" Ye'se get na help frae me."

* Modern, to supply an imperfect stanza.

But Ethert Lunn, a baited bear,
Had many battles seen;
He set the youngest wonder sair,
Till the eldest he grew keen—

"I am nae king, nor nae sic thing:
"My word it shanna stand!
"For Ethert sall a buffet bide,
"Come he beneath my brand."

He clankit Ethert ower the head,
A deep wound and a sair,
Till the best blood of his bodie
Came rinning ower his hair.

"Now I've slayne twa; slaye ye the ane;
"Is na that gude companye?
"And tho' the ane suld slay ye baith,
"Ye'se get na help o' me."

The twa-some they hae slayne the ane;
They maul'd him cruellie;
Then hung them over the draw-brigg,
That all the host might see.

They rade their horse, they ran their horse,
Then hover'd on the lee:
"We be three lads o' fair Scotland,
"That fain would fighting see."

This boasting when young Edward heard,
An angry man was he!
"I'll tak yon lad, I'll bind yon lad,
"And bring him bound to thee!"

"Now, God forbid," King Edward said,
"That ever thou suld try!
"Three worthy leaders we hae lost,
"And thou the fourth wad lie.

"If thou shouldst hang on yon draw-brigg,
"Blythe wad I never be!"
But, with the poll-axe in his hand,
Upon the brigg sprang he.

The first stroke that young Edward gae,
He struck wi' might and mayn;
He clove the Maitland's helmet stout,
And bit right nigh the brayn.

When Maitland saw his ain blood fa',
An angry man was he!
He let his weapon frae him fa',
And at his throat did flee.

And thrice about he did him swing,
Till on the grund he light,
Where he has halden young Edward,
Tho' he was great in might.

"Now let him up," King Edward cried,
"And let him come to me!
"And for the deed that thou hast done,
"Thou shalt hae erldomes three!"

"Its ne'er be said in France, nor e'er
"In Scotland, when I'm hame,
"That Edward once lay under me,
"And e'er gat up again!"

He pierced him through and through the heart;
He maul'd him cruellie;
Then hung him ower the draw-brigg,
Beside the other three.

" Now, take frae me that feather-bed !
" Make me a bed o' strae !
" I wish I hadna lived this day,
" To mak my heart sae wae.

" If I were ance at London Tower,
" Where I was wont to be,
" I never mair suld gang frae hame,
" Till borne on a bier-tree."

NOTES

ON

AULD MAITLAND.

Young Edward hight his name.—P. 25. v. 2.

Were it possible to find an authority for calling this personage *Edmund*, we should be a step nearer history; for a brother, though not a nephew of Edward I., so named, died in Gascony during an unsuccessful campaign against the French. —KNIGHTON, Lib. III. cap. 8.

I wish him dool and pyne.—P. 26. v. 3.

Thus Spenser, in *Mother Huberd's tale*—

> Thus is the ape become a shepherd swain,
> And the false fox his dog, God give them pain!

Who, marching forth with false Dunbar,
A ready welcome found.—P. 26. v. 4.

These two lines are modern, and inserted to complete the verse. Dunbar, the fortress of Patrick, Earl of March, was

too often opened to the English, by the treachery of that Baron, during the reign of Edward I.

They laid their sowies to the wall,
Wi' mony a heavy peal.—P. 27. v. 4.

In this and the following verse, the attack and defence of a fortress, during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, are described accurately and concisely. The sow was a military engine, resembling the Roman *testudo*. It was framed of wood, covered with hides, and mounted on wheels, so that, being rolled forward to the foot of the besieged wall, it served as a shed, or cover, to defend the miners, or those who wrought the battering-ram, from the stones and arrows of the garrison. In the course of the famous defence, made by Black Agnes, Countess of March, of her husband's castle of Dunbar, Montague, Earl of Salisbury, who commanded the besiegers, caused one of these engines to be wheeled up to the wall. The Countess, who, with her damsels, kept her station on the battlements, and affected to wipe off with her handkerchief the dust raised by the stones hurled from the English machines, awaited the approach of this new engine of assault. "Beware, Mon-"tague," she exclaimed, while the fragment of a rock was discharged from the wall—"Beware, Montague! for farrow shall "thy sow!"* Their cover being dashed to pieces, the assailants, with great loss and difficulty, scrambled back to their trenches. "By the regard of suche a lady," would Froissart have said, "and by her comforting, a man ought to be worth "two men, at need." The sow was called by the French *Truie*.—See HAILES' *Annals*, vol. II. p. 89. WYNTOWN'S *Cronykil*, Book VIII. WILLIAM of MALMESBURY, Lib. IV.

The memory of the *sow* is preserved in Scotland by two trifling circumstances. The name given to an oblong hay-stack,

* This sort of bravade seems to have been fashionable in those times: "Et avec drapeaux, et leurs chaperons, ils torchoient les "murs a l'endroit, ou les pierres venoient frapper."—*Notice des Manuscrits de la Bibliotheque Nationale.*

is a *hay-sow ;* and this may give us a good idea of the form of the machine. Children also play at a game with cherry-stones, placing a small heap on the ground, which they term a *sowie,* endeavouring to hit it, by throwing single cherry-stones, as the sow was formerly battered from the walls of the besieged fortress. My companions, at the High School of Edinburgh, will remember what was meant by *herrying a sowie.* It is strange to find traces of military antiquities in the occupation of the husbandman and the sports of children.

The pitch and tar-barrels of Maitland were intended to consume the formidable machines of the English. Thus, at a fabulous siege of York, by Sir William Wallace, the same mode of defence is adopted:

> The Englishmen, that cruel were and kene,
> Keeped their town, and fended there full fast;
> Faggots of fire among the host they cast,
> Up *pitch and tar* on feil *sowis* they lent;
> Many were hurt ere they from the walls went;
> *Stones on Springalds they did cast out so fast,*
> *And goads of iron made many grome agast.*
>
> HENRY the MINSTREL's History of Wallace.—B. 8. c. 5.

A more authentic illustration may be derived from Barbour's Account of the Siege of Berwick, by Edward II., in 1319, when a *sow* was brought on to the attack by the English, and burned by the combustibles hurled down upon it, through the device of John Crab, a Flemish engineer, in the Scottish service.

> And thai, that at the sege lay,
> Or it was passyt the fyft day,
> Had made thaim syndry apparall,
> To gang eft sonys till assaill.
> Off gret gests a *sow* thai maid,
> That stalwart heildyne aboyne it haid;
> With armyt men inew tharin,
> And instruments for to myne.

Sindry scaffalds thai maid withall,
That war wele heyar than the wall,
And ordanyt als that, be the se,
The town suld weill assaillyt be.

Thai within, that saw thaim swa,
Swa gret apparaill schap to ma,
Throw Craby's cunnaill, that wes sley,
A crane thai haiff gert dress up hey,
Rynnand on quheills, that thai micht bryng
It quhar that nede war off helping.
And pyk, and ter, als haiff thai tane;
And lynt, and herds, and brymstane;
And dry treyis that wele wald brin,
And mellyt aythir other in:
And gret fagalds thairoff thai maid,
Gyrdyt with irne bands braid.
The fagalds weill mycht mesuryt be,
Till a gret towrys quantite.
The fagalds bryning in a ball,
With thair cran thoucht till awaill;
And giff the sow come to the wall,
To lat it brynand on her fall;
And with stark chenyeis hald it thar,
Quhill all war brynt up that thar war.
— — — — — — — —
Upon sic maner gan thai fycht,
Quhill it wes ner none off the day,
That thai without, on gret aray,
Prysyt thair *sow* towart the wall;
And thai within sone gert call
The engynour, that takyn was,
And gret menance till him mais,
And swour that he suld dey, bot he
Prowyt on the sow sic sutelté
That he to fruschyt ilk dele,
And he, that hath persawyt wele
That the dede wes wele ner hym till,
Bot giff he mycht fulfil thair will
Thoucht that he at hys mycht wald do.

Bendyt in gret by then wes sche,
That till the sow wes ewyn set.
In hy he gert draw the cleket;
And smertly swappyt owt a stane,
Ewyn our the sow the stane is gane,
And behind it a litill way
It fell: and then they cryt, "Hey!"
That war in hyr, "furth to the wall,
"For dredles it is ours all!"

The gynour then deleuerly
Gert bend the gyn in full gret hy;
And the stane smertly swappyt out.
It flaw out quethyr, and with a rout,
And fell rycht ewyn befor the sow.
Thair harts than begouth to grow.
Bot yhet than, with thair mychts all
Thai pressyt the sow towart the wall;
And has hyr set tharto gentilly.
The gynour than gert bend in hy
The gyne, and wappyt owt the stane,
That ewyn towart the lyft is gane,
And with gret wycht syne duschyt doun,
Rycht be the wall in a randoun;
And hyt the sow in sic maner,
That it that wes the maist sowar,
And starkast for to stynt a stark,
In sundre with that dusche it brak.
The men than owt in full gret hy
And on the wallis thai gan cry,
That thair sow wes feryt thar.
Jhon Crab, that had hys geer all yar
In hys fagalds has set the fyr,
And our the wall syne gan thai wyr,
And brynt the sow till brunds bar.

The Bruce, Book XVII.

The *springalds*, used in defence of the castle of Lauder, were *balistæ*, or large cross-bows, wrought by machinery, and capable of throwing stones, beams, and huge darts. They were

numbered among the heavy artillery of the age; "Than the "kynge made all his navy to draw along, by the cost of the "Downes, every ship well garnished with bombardes, cros-"bowes, archers, *springalls*, and other artillarie."—FROISSART.

Goads, or sharpened bars of iron, were an obvious and formidable missile weapon. Thus, at the assault of Rochemiglion, "They within cast out great barres of iron, and pots with "lyme, wherewith they hurt divers Englishmen, such as adven-"tured themselves too far."—FROISSART, vol. I. cap. 108.

From what has been noticed, the attack and defence of Lauder castle will be found strictly conformable to the manners of the age; a circumstance of great importance, in judging of the antiquity of the ballad. There is no mention of guns, though these became so common in the latter part of the reign of Edward III., that at the siege of St Maloes, "the English had "well a four hondred gonnes, who shot day and night into the "fortresse, and agaynst it."—FROISSART, vol. I. cap. 336. Barbour informs us, that guns, or "crakis of wer," as he calls them, and crests for helmets, were first seen by the Scottish, in their skirmishes with Edward the Third's host, in Northumberland, A. D. 1327.

Which some call Billop-Grace.—P. 28. v. 5.

If this be a Flemish, or Scottish, corruption for Ville de Grace, in Normandy, that town was never besieged by Edward I., whose wars in France were confined to the province of Gascony. The rapid change of scene, from Scotland to France, excites a suspicion, that some verses may have been lost in this place. The retreat of the English host, however, may remind us of a passage in Wyntown, when, after mentioning that the Earl of Salisbury raised the siege of Dunbar, to join King Edward in France, he observes,

"It was to Scotland a gud chance,
"That thai made thaim to werray in France,
"For had thai halyly thaim tane
"For to werray in Scotland allane,

Eftyr the grot mischeffis twa,
Duplyn and Hallydowne war tha,
Thai suld have skaithit it to gretly.
Bot fortowne thoucht scho fald fekilly
Will noucht at anis myscheffis fall;
Thare-fore scho set thare hartis all,
To werray Fraunce richit to be,
That Scottis live in grettar lê.

Cronykil, B. VIII. cap. 34.

Now, will ye go, my brethren two,
And try some jeopardie?—P. 29. v. 2.

The romantic custom of achieving, or attempting, some desperate and perilous adventure, without either necessity or cause, was a peculiar, and perhaps the most prominent, feature of chivalry. It was not merely the duty, but the pride and delight, of a true knight, to perform such exploits, as no one but a madman would have undertaken. I think it is in the old French romance of *Erec and Eneide*, that an adventure, the access to which lay through an avenue of stakes, garnished with the bloody heads of the knights who had attempted and failed to achieve it, is called by the inviting title of *La joie de la Cour*. To be first in advancing, or last in retreating; to strike upon the gate of a certain fortress of the enemy; to fight blindfold, or with one arm tied up; to carry off a banner, or to defend one, were often the subjects of a particular vow among the sons of chivalry. Until some distinguishing exploit of this nature, a young knight was not said to have *won his spurs*; and, upon some occasions, he was obliged to bear, as a mark of thraldom, a chain upon his arm, which was removed, with great ceremony, when his merit became conspicuous. These chains are noticed in the romance of *Jehan de Saintré*. In the language of German chivalry, they were called *Ketten des Gelubdes* (fetters of duty.) Lord Herbert of Cherbury informs us, that the Knights of the Bath were obliged to wear certain strings, of silk and gold, upon their left arm, until they had achieved some noble deed of arms. When Edward III.

commenced his French wars, many of the young bachelors of England bound up one of their eyes with a silk ribbon, and swore, before the peacock and the ladies, that they would not see with both eyes until they had accomplished certain deeds of arms in France.—FROISSART, cap. 28.

A remarkable instance of this chivalrous phrenzy occurred during the expedition of Sir Robert Knowles, who, in 1370, marched through France, and laid waste the country, up to the very gates of Paris. "There was a knight, in their companye, "had made a vowe, the day before, that he wolde ryde to the "walles or gates of Parys, and stryke at the barryers with his "speare. And, for the fournyshing of his vowe, he departed "fro his companye, his spear in his fyst, his shelde about his "neck, armed at all pecesse, on a good horsse, his squyer on "another, behind him, with his bassenet. And whan he ap-"proached neare to Parys, he toke and dyde on his helme, and "left his squyer behind hym, and dashed his spurres to his "horsse, and came gallopynge to the barryers, the whiche as "then were opyn; and the lordes, that were there, had wened "he wolde have entred into the towne; but that was not his "mynde; for, when he hadde stryken at the barryers, as he "had before avowed, he towrned his reyne, and drue back "agayne, and departed. Then the knightes of France, that "sawe hym depart, sayd to him, 'Go your waye; you have "ryghte well acquitted yourself.' I can nat tell you what was "thys knyghtes name, nor of what contre; but the blazure of "his armes was, goules, two fusses sable, a border sable. "Howbeit, in the subbarbes, he had a sore encontre; for, as "he passed on the pavement, he founde before hym a bocher, "a bigge man, who had well sene this knighte pass by. And "he helde in his handes a sharpe hevy axe, with a long poynt; "and as the knyght returned agayne, and toke no hede, this "bocher came on his side, and gave the knyght such a stroke, "betwene the neck and the shulders, that he reversed for-"warde heedlynge, to the neck of his horsse, and yet he re-"covered agayne. And than the bocher strake hym agayne, "so that the axe entered into his body, so that, for payne, the

" knyghte fell to the erthe, and his horse ran away, and came " to the squyer, who abode for his mayster at the stretes ende. " And so, the squyer toke the horse, and had gret marveyle " what was become of his mayster; for he had well sene him " ryde to the barryers, and stryke thereat with his glayve, and " retourne agayne. Thanne he rode a lytell forthe, thyderwarde, " and anone he saw where his master layn upon the erthe, " bytwene foure men, layenge on him strokes, as they wolde " have stryken on a stethey (*anvil*); and than the squyer was " so affreyed, that he durst go no farther: for he sawe well he " could nat help his mayster. Therefore he retourned as fast " as he myght: so there the sayd knyghte was slayne. And " the knyghtes, that were at the gate, caused hym to be buried " in holy ground."—FROISSART, ch. 281.

A similar instance of a military jeopardy occurs in the same author, ch. 364. It happened before the gates of Troyes. " There was an Englyshe squyre, borne in the bishopryke of " Lincolne, an expert man of armes; I can nat say whyder he " could se or nat; but he spurred his horse, his speare in his " hande, and his targe about his necke; his horse came rushyng " downe the waye, and lept clene over the barres of the bary- " ers, and so galoped to the gate, where, as the Duke of Bur- " goyne and the other lords of France were, who reputed that " dede for a great enterprise. The squyer thoughte to have re- " turned, but he could nat; for his horse was stryken with " speares, and beaten downe, and the squyr slain; wherewith " the Duke of Burgoyne was right sore displeased."

Wilt thou lend me our King's standard,
To bear a little way?—P. 29. v. 4.

In all ages, and in almost all countries, the military standards have been objects of respect to the soldiery, whose duty it is to range beneath them, and, if necessary, to die in their defence. In the ages of chivalry, these ensigns were distinguished by their shape, and by the various names of banners, pennons, penoncelles, &c., according to the number of men who were to fight under them. They were displayed, on the

day of battle, with singular solemnity, and consigned to the charge only of such as were thought willing and able to defend them to the uttermost. When the army of Edward, the Black Prince, was drawn up against that of Henry the Bastard, King of Castile, "Than Sir Johan Chandos brought his baner, roll-"ed up togyder, to the Prince, and said, 'Sir, behold, here is "my baner. I requyre you display it abrode, and give me "leave this daye to raise it; for, sir, I thanke God and you, "I have land and heritage suffyciente to maynteyne it withal.' "Than the Prince, and King Dampeter (Don Pedro,) toke the "baner betwene their handes, and spred it abrode, the which "was of sylver, a sharp pyle gaules, and delyvered it to hym, "and said, 'Sir Johan, behold here youre baner; God sende "you joye and honour thereof!' Than Sir Johan Chandos bare "his baner to his owne companye, and sayde, 'Sirs, beholde "here my baner, and youres; kepe it as your owne.' And they "toke it, and were right joyful thereof, and sayd, that by the "pleasure of God, and Saint George, they would kepe and de-"fend it to the best of their powers. And so the baner abode "in the handes of a good Englishe squyer, called William Aery, "who bare it that day, and acquaytted himself right nobly."—FROISSART, vol. I. ch. 237. The loss of a banner was not only great dishonour, but an infinite disadvantage. At the battle of Cocherel, in Normandy, the flower of the combatants, on each side, were engaged in the attack and defence of the banner of the captall of Buche, the English leader. It was planted amid a bush of thorns, and guarded by sixty men at arms, who defended it gallantly. "There were many rescues, and many a "one hurt and cast to the earth, and many feates of armes "done, and many gret strokes given, with good axes of steel, "that it was wonder to behold." The battle did not cease until the captall's standard was taken and torn to pieces.

We learn, from the following passage in STOWE's *Chronicle*, that the standard of Edward I. was a golden dragon. "The "King entred Wales with an army, appointing the footmen to "occupie the enemies in fight, whiles his horsemen, in a wing, "set on the rere battell: himselfe, with a power, kept his

" place, where he pight his golden dragon, unto whiche, as to " a castle, the wounded and wearied might repair."

" *Where wast thou bred? where wast thou born?*
" *Where, or in what countrie?*"
" *In north of England I was born:*"
(*It needed him to lie.*)—P. 29. v. 5.

Stratagems, such as that of Maitland, were frequently practised with success, in consequence of the complete armour worn by the knights of the middle ages. In 1359, Edward III. entered France, to improve the success of the battle of Poictiers. Two French knights, Sir Galahaut of Rybamont, and Sir Roger of Cologne, rode forth, with their followers, to survey the English host, and, in short, to seek adventures. It chanced that they met a foraging party of Germans, retained in King Edward's service under the command of Reynold of Boulant, a knight of that nation. By the counsel of a squire of his retinue, Sir Galahaut joined company with the German knight, under the assumed character of Bartholomew de Bonne, Reynold's countryman and fellow-soldier in the English service. The French knights " were a 70 men of armes, and Sir Renolde " had not past a 30; and, whan Sir Renolde saw theym, he " displayed his baner befor hym, and came softely rydynge to- " warde theym, wenyng to him that they had been Englyshe- " men. Whan he approached, he lyft up hys vyser, saluted Sir " Galahaut, in the name of Sir Bartylmewe de Bonnes. Sir " Galahaut helde himselfe styll secrete, and answered but " fayntly, and sayd, 'Let us ryde forth;' and so rode on, and " hys men, on the one syde, and the Almaygnes on the other. " Whan Sir Renolde of Boulant saw theyr maner, and howe " Sir Galahaut rode sometyme by hym, and spake no word, " than he begane to suspecte. And he had not so ryden, the " space of a quarter of an hour, but he stode styll, under his " baner, among hys men, and sayd, 'Sir, I have dout what " knyght ye be. I thynke ye be nat Sir Bartylmewe, for I " knowe hym well: and I see well that yt ys nat you. I woll " ye tell me your name, or I ryde any farther in your com-

" pany.' Therwith Sir Galahaut lyft up hys vyser, and rode " towardes the knyght to have taken hym by the rayne of " hys brydell, and cryed, ' *Our Ladye of Rybamont!*' Than Sir " Roger of Coloyne sayd, ' *Coloyne to the rescue!*'* Whan " Sir Renolde of Boulant sawe what case he was in, he was " nat gretly afrayd, but drewe out his sworde; and, as Sir " Galahaut wolde have taken hym by the brydell, Sir Re- " nolde put his sworde clene through hym, and drue agayne " hys sworde out of hym, and toke his horse, with the spurres, " and left Sir Galahaut sore hurt. And, whan Sir Galahautes " men sawe theyr master in that case, they were sore dys- " pleased, and set on Sir Renolde's men; there were many " cast to the yerth, but as sone as Sir Renolde had gyven Sir " Galahaut that stroke, he strak his horse with the spurres, and " toke the feldes. Than certayne of Galahaut's squyers chasyd " hym, and, whan he sawe that they followed hym so nere, that " he muste other tourne agayne, or els be shamed, lyke a hardy " knyght he tourned, and abode the foremost, and gave hym " such a stroke, that he had no more lyste to folwe him. And " thus, as he rede on, he served three of theym, that folowed " hym, and wounded them sore: if a good axe had been in " hys hand, at every stroke he had slayne a man. He dyd so " muche, that he was out of danger of the Frenchmen, and " saved himselfe withoute any hurte; the whyche hys enemyes " reputed for a grete prowess, and so dyd all other that harde " thereof; but hys men were nere slayne or taken, but few " that were saved. And Sir Galahaut was caryed from thence " sore hurt to Perone; of that hurt he was never after perfect- " ly hole; for he was a knycht of suche courage, that, for all " his hurte, he would not spare hymselfe; wherefore he lyved " not long after."—FROISSART, vol. I. chap. 207.

The youngest turn'd him in a path,
And drew a burnish'd brand, &c.—P. 31. v. 2.

Thus, Sir Walter Mauny, retreating into the fortress of Ha-

* The war-cries of their family.

nybounte, after a successful sally, was pursued by the besiegers, who "ranne after them lyke madde men; than Sir Gualtier "saide, 'Let me never be beloved wyth my lady, wythout I "have a course wyth one of these followers!" and turning, with his lance in the rest, he overthrew several of his pursuers, before he condescended to continue his retreat.

Whene'er they came within the yate,
They thrust their horse them frae, &c.—P. 32.

"The Lord of Hangest (pursued by the English) came so "to the barryrs (of Vandonne) that were open, as his happe "was, and so entred in therat, and than toke his speare, and "turned him to defence, right valiantly."—FROISSART, vol. I. chap. 367.

They rade their horse, they ran their horse,
Then hovered on the lee, &c.—P. 36. v. 1.

The sieges, during the middle ages, frequently afforded opportunity for single combat, of which the scene was usually the draw-bridge, or barriers, of the town. The former, as the more desperate place of battle, was frequently chosen by knights, who chose to break a lance for honour, and their ladies' love. In 1387, Sir William Douglas, Lord of Nithisdale, upon the draw-bridge of the town of Carlisle, consisting of two beams, hardly two feet in breadth, encountered and slew, first, a single champion of England, and afterwards two, who attacked him together.—*Fordun Scotichronicon*, Lib. XIV. chap. 51.

He brynt the suburbys of Carlele,
And at the bareris he fauchat sa wele,
That on thare bryg he slw a man,
The wychtast that in the town wes than:
Quhare, on a plank of twa feet brade,
He stude, and swa gude payment made,
That he feld twa stout fechteris,
And but skath went till his feres.

WYNTOWN's *Cronykil*, Book IX. Chap. 8.

These combats at the barriers, or palisades, which formed the outer fortification of a town, were so frequent, that the mode of attack and defence was early taught to the future knight, and continued long to be practised in the games of chivalry. The custom, therefore, of defying the inhabitants of a besieged town to this sort of contest, was highly fashionable in the middle ages; and an army could hardly appear before a place, without giving rise to a variety of combats at the barriers, which were, in general, conducted without any unfair advantage being taken on either part.

The following striking example of this romantic custom occurs in Froissart. During the French wars of Edward the Black Prince, and in the year 1370, a body of English, and of adventurers retained in his service, approached the city of Noyon, then occupied by a French garrison, and arrayed themselves, with displayed banners, before the town, defying the defenders to battle. "There was a Scottysh knyghte* dyde "there a goodly feate of armes, for he departed fro his com-"panye, hys speare in hys hand, and mounted on a good "horse, hys page behynde hyme, and so came before the bar-"ryers. Thys knyght was called Sir Johan Assueton,† a "hardy man and a couragyous. Whan he was before the "barryers of Noyon, he lyghted a-fote, and sayd to hys page, "'Holde, kepe my horse, and departe nat hens;' and so wente "to the barryers. And wythyn the barryers, there were good "knyghtes; as, Sir John of Roy, Sir Lancelot of Loutys, and "a x or xii other, who had grete marveyle what thys sayde "knyghte wolde do. Then he sayde to them, 'Sirs, I am "come hyder to se you. I se well, ye wyll nat issue out of

* By the terms of the peace betwixt England and Scotland, the Scottish were left at liberty to take service either with France or England, at their pleasure. Sir Robert Knolles, therefore, who commanded the expedition, referred to in the text, had under his command a hundred Scottish spears.

† *Assueton* is a corruption for Swinton. Sir John Swinton of Swinton, was a Scottish champion, noted for his courage and gigantic stature.

" your barryers; therefore I will entre, and I can, and wyll " prove my knyghthode agaynst yours; wyn me and ye can.' " And therewyth he layde on round about hym, and they at " hym. And thus, he alone fought agaynst them, more than " an hour; and dyd hurte two or three of them; so that they " of the towne, on the walles and garrettes, stode still, and " behelde them, and had great pleasure to regarde his val- " yauntness, and dyd him no hurte; the whiche they myght " have done, if they hadde list to have shotte, or cast stones " at hym. And also the French knyghtes charged them to " let hym and them alone togyder. So long they foughte, " that at last, his page came near to the barryers, and spake " in his language, and sayd, ' Sir, come awaye; it is time for " you to departe, for your cumpanye is departyng hens.' The " knyghte harde hym well, and then gave a two or three " strokes about him, and so, armed as he was, he lept out of " the barryers, and lepte upon his horse, without any hurte, " behynde his page; and sayd to the Frenchmen, ' Adue, " sirs! I thank you;" and so rode forthe to his owne cum- " panye. The whiche dede was moche praysed of many folkes." —FROISSART, cap. 278.

The barriers, so often alluded to, are described, by the same admirable historian, to be grated pallisades, the grates being about half a foot wide. In a skirmish before Honycourt, Sir Henry of Flanders ventured to thrust his sword so far through one of those spaces, that a sturdy abbot, who was within, seized his sword-arm, and drew it through the barriers, up to the shoulder. In this awkward situation he remained for some time, being unwilling to dishonour himself by quitting his weapon. He was at length rescued, but lost his sword; which Froissart afterwards saw preserved, as a relique, in the monastery of Honycourt.—Vol. I. chap. 39. For instances of single combats, at the barriers, see the same author, *passim*.

And if the twa wald stay ye baith,
Ye'se get na help frae me.—P. 34. v. 5.

According to the laws of chivalry, laws which were also for

a long time observed in duels, when two or more persons were engaged on each side, he, who first conquered his immediate antagonist, was at liberty, if he pleased, to come to the assistance of his companions. The play of the *Little French Lawyer* turns entirely upon this circumstance; and it may be remarked throughout the poems of Boiardo and Ariosto, particularly in the combat of three Christian and three Pagan champions, in the 42d canto of *Orlando Furioso*. But doubtless a gallant knight was often unwilling, like young Maitland, to avail himself of this advantage. Something of this kind seems to have happened in the celebrated combat, fought in the presence of James II. at Stirling, in 1449, between three French, or Flemish, warriors, and three noble Scottishmen, two of whom were of the house of Douglas. The reader will find a literal translation of Oliver de la Marche's account of this celebrated tourney, in PINKERTON's *History*, vol. I. p. 428.

I am nae King, nor nae sic thing:
My word it shanna stand!—P. 35. v. 2.

Maitland's apology for retracting his promise to stand neuter, is as curious as his doing so is natural. The unfortunate John of France was wont to say, that, if truth and faith were banished from all the rest of the universe, they should still reside in the breast and the mouth of kings.

They maul'd him cruellie.—P. 35. v. 5.

This has a vulgar sound, but is actually a phrase of romance. *Tant frappant et* maillent *lex deux vaisaux l'un sur l'autre, que leurs heaumes, et leurs hauberts, sont tous cassez et rompuz.*—La fleur des Battailes.

But, wi' the poll-axe in his hand,
Upon the brigg sprang he.—P. 36. v. 4.

The battle-axe, of which there are many kinds, was a knightly weapon, much used in the middle ages, as well in single combat as in battle. "And also there was a younge bachelor,

" called Bertrande of Gleaguyne, who, during the seige, fought " wyth an Englyshman called Sir Nycholas Dagerne: and that " batayle was takene thre courses wyth a speare, thre strokes " wyth an axe, and thre wyth a dagger. And eche of these " knyghtes bare themselves so valyantly, that they departed " fro the felde wythout any damage, and they were well re- " garded, bothe of theyme wythyn, and they wythout." This happened at the siege of Rennes, by the Duke of Lancaster, in 1357.—FROISSART, vol. I. c. 175. With the same weapon Godfrey of Harcourt long defended himself, when surprised and defeated by the French. " And Sir Godfraye's men kepte " no good array, nor dyd nat as they had promysed; moost " part of theyme fledde; whan Sir Godfraye sawe that, he " sayde to hymselfe, how he had rather there be slayne than " be taken by the Frenchmen; there he toke hys axe in hys " handes, and set fast the one legge before the other, to stonde " the more surely; for hys one legge was a lytell crooked, but " he was strong in the armes. Ther he fought valyantly and " long: none durste well abyde hys strokes; than two French- " men mounted on theyr horses, and ranne both with their " speares at ones at hym, and so bare him to the yerth; than " other, that were a-fote, came wyth theyr swerdes, and strake " hym into the body, under his harneys, so that ther he was " slayne."—*Ibid.* chap. 172. The historian throws Sir Godfrey into a striking attitude of desperation.

When Maitland saw his ain blude fu',
An angry man was he!—P. 37. v. 1.

There is a saying, that a Scottishman fights best after seeing his own blood. Camerarius has contrived to hitch this foolish proverb into a national compliment; for he quotes it as an instance of the persevering gallantry of his countrymen. " *Si in* " *pugna proprium effundi sanguinem vidissent, non statim pro-* " *strato animo concedebant, sed irato potius in hostes velut fu-* " *rentes omnibus viribus incurrebant.*"

That Edward once lay under me,
And e'er gat up again.—P. 37. v. 4.

Some reciters repeat it thus:

"That *Englishman* lay under me,"

which is in the true spirit of Blind Harry, who makes Wallace say,

"I like better to see the southeron die,
"Than gold or land, that they can gie to me."

In slaying Edward, Maitland acts pitilessly, but not contrary to the laws of arms, which did not enjoin a knight to shew mercy to his antagonist, until he yielded him, "*rescue or no rescue.*" Thus, the Seigneur de Languerant came before the walls of an English garrison, in Gascony, and defied any of the defenders to run a course with a spear; his challenge being accepted by Bertrand Courant, the governor of the place, they couched their spears, like good knights, and dashed on their horses. Their spears were broke to pieces, and Languerant was overthrown, and lost his helmet among the horses' feet. His attendants were coming up; but Bertrand drew his dagger, and said, "Sir, yield ye my prisoner, "rescue or no rescue; els ye are but dead." The dismounted champion spoke not a word; on which Bertrand, entering into fervent ire, dashed his dagger into his skull. Besides, the battle was not always finished by one warrior obtaining this advantage over the other. In the battle of Nejara, the famous Sir John Chandos was overthrown, and held down, by a gigantic Spanish cavalier, named Martino Fernandez. "Then Sir John Chandos remembred of a knyfe, that he had "in his bosome, and drew it out, and struck this Martyne so "in the backe, and in the sydes, that he wounded him to "dethe, as he laye upon hym." The dagger, which the knights employed in these close and desperate struggles, was called the *poniard of mercy*.

THE

BATTLE OF OTTERBOURNE.

THE SCOTTISH EDITION.

THE following edition of the Battle of Otterbourne, being essentially different from that which is published in the *Reliques of Ancient Poetry*, vol. I., and being obviously of Scottish composition, claims a place in the present collection. The particulars of that noted action are related by Froissart, with the highest encomiums upon the valour of the combatants on each side. James, Earl of Douglas, with his brother, the Earl of Murray, in 1387, invaded Northumberland, at the head of 3000 men; while the Earls of Fife and Strathern, sons to the King of Scotland, ravaged the Western Borders of England, with a still more numerous army. Douglas penetrated as far as Newcastle, where the renowned Hotspur lay in garrison. In a skirmish before the walls, Percy's lance, with the pennon, or guidon, attached to it, was taken by Douglas, as most authors affirm, in a personal encounter betwixt the two heroes. The Earl

shook the pennon aloft, and swore he would carry it as his spoil into Scotland, and plant it upon his castle of Dalkeith. "That," answered Percy, "shalt thou "never!"—Accordingly, having collected the forces the Marches, to a number equal, or (according to the Scottish historians) much superior, to the army of Douglas, Hotspur made a night attack upon the Scottish camp, at Otterbourne, about thirty-two miles from Newcastle. An action took place, fought by moonlight, with uncommon gallantry and desperation. At length, Douglas, armed with an iron mace, which few but he could wield, rushed into the thickest of the English battalions, followed only by his chaplain, and two squires of his body.* Before his followers could come up, their brave leader was stretched on the ground, with three mortal wounds; his squires lay dead by his side; the priest alone, armed with a lance, was protecting his master from farther injury. "I die like my forefa- "thers," said the expiring hero, "in a field of battle, "and not on a bed of sickness. Conceal my death, de- "fend my standard,† and avenge my fall! it is an old

* Their names were Robert Hart and Simon Glendinning. The chaplain was Richard Lundie, afterwards Archdean of Aberdeen—GODSCROFT. Hart, according to Wintoun, was a knight. That historian says, no one knew how Douglas fell.

† The banner of Douglas, upon this memorable occasion, was borne by his natural son, Archibald Douglas, ancestor of the family of Cavers, hereditary Sheriffs of Teviotdale, amongst whose archives this glorious relique is still preserved. The Earl, at his onset, is said to have charged his son to defend it to the last drop of his blood.

"prophecy, that a dead man shall gain a field,* and I "hope it will be accomplished this night."—Godscroft. With these words he expired; and the fight was renewed with double obstinacy around his body. When morning appeared, however, victory began to incline to the Scottish side. Ralph Percy, brother to Hotspur, was made prisoner by the Earl Mareschal, and shortly after, Harry Percy † himself was taken by Lord Montgomery. The number of captives, according to Wintoun, nearly equalled that of the victors. Upon this the English retired, and left the Scots masters of the dear-bought honours of the field. But the Bishop of Durham approaching, at the head of a body of fresh forces, not only checked the pursuit of the victors, but made prisoners of some of the stragglers, who had urged the chase too far. The battle was not, however, renewed, as the Bishop of Durham did not venture to attempt the rescue of Percy. The field was fought 15th August, 1388.—Fordun, Froissart, Hollinshed, Godscroft.

The ground on which this memorable engagement took place, is now the property of John Davidson, Esq. of Newcastle, and still retains the name of Battle Cross. A cross, erroneously termed *Percy's Cross*, has been erected upon the spot where the gallant Earl of Douglas is supposed to have fallen. The castle of Otterbourne,

* This prophecy occurs in the ballad as an ominous dream.

† Hotspur, for his ransom, built the castle of Penoon, in Ayrshire, belonging to the family of Montgomery, now Earls of Eglintoun.

which was besieged by Douglas, with its demesne lands, is now the property of James Ellis, Esq. who is also proprietor of a neighbouring eminence called Fawdon-hill, on which may yet be discerned the vestiges of the Scottish camp, agreeing with the description of the ballad, "They lighted high on Otterbourn." Earl's Meadows, containing a fine spring called Percy's well, are a part of the same gentleman's grounds, and probably derive their name from the battle. The camp on Fawdoun-hill is a mile distant from Battle Cross; but it must be remembered that the various changes of position and of fortune during so long and fierce an engagement between two considerable armies, must have extended the conflict over all the vicinity.

The ballad, published in the *Reliques*, is avowedly an English production; and the author, with a natural partiality, leans to the side of his countrymen: yet that ballad, or some one similar, modified probably by national prejudice, must have been current in Scotland during the reign of James VI.; for Godscroft, in treating of this battle, mentions its having been the subject of popular song, and proceeds thus: "But that which is "commonly sung of the *Hunting of Cheviot*, seemeth "indeed poetical, and a mere fiction, perhaps to stir "up virtue; yet a fiction whereof there is no mention, "either in the Scottish or English Chronicle. Neither "are the songs that are made of them, both one; for "the *Scots song made of Otterbourne*, telleth the time, "about Lammas; and also the occasion, to take preys

" out of England; also the dividing the armies betwixt " the Earls of Fife and Douglas, and their several jour- " nies, almost as in the authentic history. It begin- " neth thus:

" It fell about the Lammas tide,
" When yeomen win their hay,
" The dochty Douglas 'gan to ride,
" In England to take a prey."

GODSCROFT, *ed. Edin.* 1743, vol. I. p. 195.

I cannot venture to assert, that the stanzas, here published, belong to the ballad alluded to by Godscroft; but they come much nearer to his description than the copy published in the first edition, which represented Douglas as falling by the poniard of a faithless page. Yet we learn from the same author, that the story of the assassination was not without foundation in tradition.—" There are that say, that he (Douglas) was not " slain by the enemy, but by one of his own men, a " groom of his chamber, whom he had struck the day " before with a truncheon, in ordering of the battle, " because he saw him make somewhat slowly to. And " they name this man John Bickerton of Luffness, who " left a part of his armour behind unfastened, and when " he was in the greatest conflict, this servant of his came " behind his back, and slew him thereat."—GODSCROFT, *ut supra.*—" But this narration," adds the historian, " is " not so probable."* Indeed it seems to have no found-

* Wintoun assigns another cause for Douglas being carelessly armed:

ation, but the common desire of assigning some remote and extraordinary cause for the death of a great man. The following ballad is also inaccurate in many other particulars, and is much shorter, and more indistinct, than that printed in the *Reliques*, although many verses are almost the same. Hotspur, for instance, is called *Earl Percy*, a title he never enjoyed. Neither was Douglas buried on the field of battle, but in Melrose Abbey, where his tomb is still shown.

This song was first published from Mr Herd's *Collection of Scottish Songs and Ballads*, Edin. 1774, 2 vols. octavo; but two recited copies have fortunately been obtained from the recitation of old persons residing at the head of Ettrick Forest, by which the story is brought out, and completed in a manner much more correspondent to the true history.

I cannot dismiss the subject of the battle of Otterbourne, without stating (with all the deference due to the father of this species of literature) some doubts which have occurred to an ingenious correspondent, and an

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" The Erle Jamys was sa besy,
" For til ordane his company,
" And on his fays for to pas,
" That reckles he of his armyng was;
" The Erle of Mwrrawys bassenet,
" Thai sayd, at thot tyme was ferryhete."

Book VIII. Chap. 7.

The circumstance of Douglas' omitting to put on his helmet occurs in the ballad.

excellent antiquary, concerning the remarks on the names subjoined to the ballads of Chevy Chace and Otterbourne, in the *Reliques of Ancient Poetry*.

" John de Lovele, Sheriff of Northumberland, 34th Hen. VII.," is evidently a mistake, as Henry VII. did not reign quite twenty-four years; but the person meant was probably John de Lavale, knight, of Delavale Castle, who was sheriff, 34th Henry VIII. There seems little doubt that the person called in the ballad " the gentil Lovel," Sir Raff the rich Rugbe, was probably Sir Ralph Neville of Raby Castle, son of the first Earl of Westmoreland, and cousin-german to Hotspur. In the more modern edition of the ballad, he is expresaly called Sir Ralph Rabby, *i. e.* of Raby.

With respect to the march of Douglas, as described in the ballad, it appears that he entered Northumberland from the westward. Redesdale, Rothely-crags, and Green Leighton, are a few miles eastward of Otterbourne. Otterscope-hill lies south-west from Green Leighton.

The celebrated Hotspur, son of the first Earl of Northumberland, was, in 1385, Governor of Berwick, and warden of the East Marches; in which last capacity it was his duty to repel the invasion of Douglas.

Sir Henry Fitzhugh, mentioned in the ballad, was one of the Earl of Northumberland's commanders at the battle of Homeldown.

As to the local situation of Otterbourne, it is thirty

statute miles from Newcastle, though Buchanan has diminished the distance to eight miles only.

The account given of Sir John of Agurstone seems also liable to some doubt. This personage is there supposed to have been one of the Hagerstons of Hagerston, a Northumbrian family, who, according to the fate of war, were sometimes subjects of Scotland. I cannot, however, think, that at this period, while the English were in possession both of Berwick and Roxburgh, with the intermediate fortresses of Wark, Cornhill, and Norham, the Scots possessed any part of Northumberland, much less a manor which lay within that strong chain of castles. I should presume the person alluded to rather to have been one of the Rutherfords, Barons of Edgerstane, or Edgerston, a warlike family, which has long flourished on the Scottish Borders, and who were, at this very period, retainers of the house of Douglas. The same notes contain an account of the other Scottish warriors of distinction, who were present at the battle. These were, the Earls of Monteith, Buchan, and Huntly; the Barons of Maxwell and Johnston; Swinton of that ilk, an ancient family, which about that period produced several distinguished warriors; Sir David (or rather, as the learned editor well remarks, Sir Walter) Scott of Buccleuch, Stewart of Garlies, and Murray of Cockpool.

Regibus et legibus Scotici constantes,
Vos clypeis et gladiis pro patria pugnantes,
Vestra est victoria, vestra est et gloria,
In cantu et historia, perpes est memoria!

THE

BATTLE OF OTTERBOURNE.

It fell about the Lammas tide,
When the muir-men win their hay,
The doughty Earl of Douglas rode
Into England, to catch a prey.

He chose the Gordons and the Græmes,
With them the Lindesays, light and gay;
But the Jardines wald not with him ride,
And they rue it to this day.

And he has burn'd the dales of Tyne,
And part of Bambrough shire;
And three good towers on Roxburgh fells,
He left them all on fire.

And he march'd up to Newcastle,
And rode it round about;
"O wha's the lord of this castle,
"Or wha's the lady o't?"

But up spake proud Lord Percy, then,
And O but he spake hie!
"I am the lord of this castle,
"My wife's the lady gay."

"If thou'rt the lord of this castle,
"Sae weel it pleases me!
"For, ere I cross the Border fells,
"The tane of us shall die."

He took a lang spear in his hand,
Shod with the metal free,
And for to meet the Douglas there,
He rode right furiouslie.

But O how pale his lady look'd,
Frae aff the castle wa',
When down before the Scottish spear,
She saw proud Percy fa'.

"Had we twa been upon the green,
"And never an eye to see,
"I wad hae had you, flesh and fell;*
"But your sword sall gae wi' me."

"But gae ye up to Otterbourne,
"And wait there dayis three;
"And, if I come not ere three dayis end,
"A fause knight ca' ye me."

"The Otterbourne's a bonnie burn;
"'Tis pleasant there to be;
"But there is nought at Otterbourne,
"To feed my men and me.

"The deer rins wild on hill and dale,
"The birds fly wild from tree to tree;
"But there is neither bread nor kale,
"To fend† my men and me.

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* *Fell*.—Hide. Douglas insinuates, that Percy was rescued by his soldiers.

† *Fend*.—Support.

" Yet I will stay at Otterbourne,
" Where you shall welcome be;
" And, if ye come not at three dayis end,
" A fause lord I'll ca' thee."

" Thither will I come," proud Percy said,
" By the might of Our Ladye!"—
" There will I bide thee," said the Douglas,
" My trowth I plight to thee."

They lighted high on Otterbourne,
Upon the bent sae brown;
They lighted high on Otterbourne,
And threw their pallions down.

And he that had a bonnie boy,
Sent out his horse to grass;
And he that had not a bonnie boy,
His ain servant he was.

But up then spake a little page,
Before the peep of dawn—
" O waken ye, waken ye, my good lord,
" For Percy's hard at hand."

" Ye lie, ye lie, ye liar loud!
" Sae loud I hear ye lie:
" For Percy had not men yestreen
" To dight my men and me.

" But I hae dream'd a dreary dream,
" Beyond the Isle of Sky;
" I saw a dead man win a fight,
" And I think that man was I."

He belted on his good braid sword,
And to the field he ran;
But he forgot the helmet good,
That should have kept his brain.

When Percy wi' the Douglas met,
I wat he was fu' fain!
They swakked their swords, till sair they swat,
And the blood ran down like rain.

But Percy with his good broad sword,
That could so sharply wound,
Has wounded Douglas on the brow,
Till he fell to the ground.

Then he call'd on his little foot-page,
And said—" Run speedilie,
" And fetch my ain dear sister's son,
" Sir Hugh Montgomery."

" My nephew good," the Douglas said,
" What recks the death of ane!
" Last night I dream'd a dreary dream,
" And I ken the day's thy ain.

" My wound is deep; I fain would sleep;
" Take thou the vanguard of the three,
" And hide me by the braken* bush,
" That grows on yonder lilye lee.

" O bury me by the braken bush,
" Beneath the blooming briar,
" Let never living mortal ken,
" That ere a kindly Scot lies here.'

He lifted up that noble lord,
Wi' the saut tear in his e'e;
He hid him in the braken bush,
That his merrie men might not see.

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* *Braken*—Fern.

The moon was clear, the day drew near,
The spears in flinders flew,
But mony a gallant Englishman
Ere day the Scotsmen slew.

The Gordons good, in English blood,
They steep'd their hose and shoon;
The Lindsays flew like fire about,
Till all the fray was done.

The Percy and Montgomery met,
That either of other were fain;
They swapped swords, and they twa sat,
And aye the blude ran down between.

"Yield thee, O yield thee, Percy!" he said,
"Or else I vow I'll lay thee low!"
"Whom to shall I yield," said Earl Percy,
"Now that I see it must be so?"

"Thou shalt not yield to lord nor loun,
"Nor yet shalt thou yield to me;
"But yield thee to the braken bush,
"That grows upon yon lilye lee!"

" I will not yield to a braken bush,
" Nor yet will I yield to a briar;
" But I would yield to Earl Douglas,
" Or Sir Hugh the Montgomery, if he were here."

As soon as he knew it was Montgomery,
He stuck his sword's point in the gronde;
And the Montgomery was a courteous knight,
And quickly took him by the honde.

This deed was done at Otterbourne,
About the breaking of the day:
Earl Douglas was buried at the braken bush,
And the Percy led captive away.

* * * * *

NOTES

ON

THE BATTLE OF OTTERBOURNE.

He chose the Gordons and the Græmes.—P. 66. v. 2.

The illustrious family of Gordon was originally settled upon the lands of Gordon and Huntly, in the shire of Berwick, and are, therefore, of Border extraction. The steps by which they removed from thence to the shires of Aberdeen and Inverness, are worthy notice. In 1300, Adam de Gordon was warden of the Marches.—RYMER, vol. II. p. 870. He obtained, from Robert the Bruce, a grant of the forfeited estate of David de Strathbolgie, Earl of Athol; but no possession followed, the earl having returned to his allegiance.—John de Gordon, his great-grandson, obtained, from Robert II., a new charter of the lands of Strathbolgie, which had been once more and finally forfeited, by David, Earl of Athol, slain in the battle of Kilblane. This grant is dated 13th July, 1376. John de Gordon, who was destined to transfer, from the Borders of England to those of the Highlands, a powerful and martial race, was himself a redoubted warrior, and many of his exploits occur in the annals of that turbulent period. In 1371-2, the English Borderers invaded and plundered the lands of Gordon, on the Scottish East March. Sir John of Gordon retaliated,

by an incursion on Northumberland, where he collected much spoil. But, as he returned with his booty, he was attacked at unawares, by Sir John Lilburne, a Northumbrian, who, with a superior force, lay near Carham in ambush, to intercept him. Gordon harangued and cheered his followers, charged the English gallantly, and, after having himself been five times in great peril, gained a complete victory; slaying many southerns, and taking their leader and his brother captive. According to the Prior of Lochlevin, he was desperately wounded; but

> " Thare rays a welle grete renowne,
> " And gretly prysyd wes gud Gordown."

Shortly after this exploit, Sir John of Gordon encountered and routed Sir Thomas Musgrave, a renowned English Marchman, whom he made prisoner. The Lord of Johnstone had, about the same time, gained a great advantage on the West Border; and hence, says Wyntoun,

> He and the Lord of Gordowne
> Had a soverane gud renown,
> Of ony that war of thare degré,
> For full thai war of gret bounté.

Upon another occasion, Sir John of Gordon is said to have partially succeeded in the surprisal of the town of Berwick, although the superiority of the garrison obliged him to relinquish his enterprize.

The ballad is accurate, in introducing this warrior, with his clan, into the host of Douglas at Otterbourne. Perhaps, as he was in possession of his extensive northern domains, he brought to the field the northern broad-swords, as well as the lances of his eastern Borderers. With his gallant leader, he lost his life in the deadly conflict. The English ballad commemorates his valour and prudence:

> " The Erle of Huntley, cawte and kene."

But the title is a premature designation. The Earldom of Huntly was first conferred on Alexander Seaton, who married

the grand-daughter of the hero of Otterbourne, and assumed his title from Huntly, in the north. Besides his eldest son Adam, who carried on the line of the family, Sir John de Gordon left two sons, known in tradition by the familiar names of *Jock* and *Tam*. The former was the ancestor of the Gordons of Pitlurg; the latter of those of Lesmoir, and of Craig-Gordon. This last family is now represented by James Gordon, Esq. of Craig, being the eleventh, in direct descent, from Sir John de Gordon.

The Græmes.

The clan of Græme, always numerous and powerful upon the Border, were of Scottish origin, and deduce the descent of their chieftain, Græme of Netherby, from John *with the bright sword*, a son of Malice Græme, Earl of Menteith, who flourished in the fourteenth century. Latterly, they *became Englishmen*, as the phrase went, and settled upon the Debateable Land, whence they were transported to Ireland, by James VI., with the exception of a very few respectable families; "because," said his Majesty in a proclamation, "they do all "(but especially the Græmes) confess themselves to be no "meet persons to live in these countries; and also to the "intent their lands may be inhabited by others, of good and "honest conversation." But, in the reign of Henry IV., the Græmes of the Border still adhered to the Scottish allegiance, as appears from the tower of Græme in Annandale, Græmes Walls in Tweeddale, and other castles within Scotland, to which they have given their name. The reader is, however, at liberty to suppose, that the Græmes of the Lennox and Menteith, always ready to shed their blood in the cause of their country, on this occasion joined Douglas.

With them the Lindsays light and gay.—P. 66. v. 2.

The chief of this ancient family, at the date of the battle of Otterbourne, was David Lindissay, Lord of Glenesk, afterwards created Earl of Crawford. He was, after the manner of the times, a most accomplished knight. He survived the battle

of Otterbourne, and the succeeding carnage of Homildon. In May, 1390, he went to England, to seek adventures of chivalry; and justed, upon London Bridge, against the Lord of Wells, an English knight, with so much skill and success, as to excite among the spectators a suspicion that he was tied to his saddle; which he removed, by riding up to the royal chair, vaulting out of his saddle, and resuming his seat without assistance, although loaded with complete armour. In 1392, Lindsay was nearly slain in a strange manner. A band of Catterans, or wild Highlanders, had broken down from the Grampian Hills, and were engaged in plundering the county of Angus. Walter Ogilvy, the sheriff, with Sir Patrick Gray, marched against them, and were joined by Sir David Lindsay. Their whole retinue did not exceed sixty men, and the Highlanders were above three hundred. Nevertheless, trusting to the superiority of arms and discipline, the knights rushed on the invaders, at Gasclune, in the Stormont. The issue was unfortunate. Ogilvy, his brother, and many of his kindred, were overpowered and slain. Lindsay, armed at all points, made great slaughter among the naked Catterans; but, as he pinned one of them to the earth with his lance, the dying mountaineer writhed upwards, and, collecting his force, fetched a blow with his broadsword, which cut through the knight's stirrup-leather and steel-boot, and nearly severed his leg. The Highlander expired, and Lindsay was with difficulty borne out of the field by his followers.—WYNTOWN. Lindsay is also noted for a retort, made to the famous Hotspur. At a March-meeting, at Haldane-Stank, he happened to observe, that Percy was sheathed in complete armour. "It is for fear "of the English horsemen," said Percy, in explanation: for he was already meditating the insurrection immortalized by Shakespeare. "Ah! Sir Harry," answered Lindsay, "I have "seen you more sorely bestad by Scottish footmen than by "English horse."—WYNTOWN. Such was the leader of the "*Lindsays light and gay.*"

According to Froissart, there were three Lindsays in the battle of Otterbourne, whom he calls Sir William, Sir James,

and Sir Alexander. To Sir James Lindsay there fell "a "strange chance of war," which I give in the words of the old historian. "I shall shewe you of Sir Mathewe Reedman "(an English warrior, and governor of Berwick,) who was on "horsebacke, to save himselfe, for he alone coude not remedy "the mater. At his departynge, Sir James Lindsay was nere "him, and sawe Sir Mathewe departed. And this Sir James, "to wyn honour, followed in chase Sir Mathewe Reedman, "and came so nere him, that he myght have stryken hym "with hys speare, if he had lyst. Than he said, 'A! Sir "Knyght, tourne! it is a shame thus to fly! I am James of "Lindsay. If ye will nat tourne, I shall strike you on the "backe with my speare.' Sir Mathewe spoke no worde, but "struke his hors with his spurres sorer than he did before. "In this maner he chased hym more than three myles. And "at last Sir Mathewe Reedman's hors foundered, and fell "under hym. Than he stept forthe on the erthe, and drewe "oute his swerde, and toke corage to defend himselfe. And "the Scotte thoughte to have stryken hym on the brest, but "Sir Mathewe Reedman swerved fro the stroke, and the speare "point entred into the erthe. Than Sir Mathewe strak "asonder the speare wyth his swerde. And whan Sir James "Lindsay saw howe he had lost his speare, he cast away the "tronchon, and lyghted a-fote, and toke a lytell battell-axe, "that he carryed at his backe, and handled it with his one "hand, quickly and delyverly, in the whyche feate Scottes "be well experte. And than he set at Sir Mathewe, and he "defended himselfe properly. Thus they journeyed toguyder, "one with an axe, and the other with a swerde, a longe season, "and no man to lette them. Fynally, Sir James Lindsay "gave the knyght such strokes, and helde him so short, that "he was putte out of brethe in such wyse, that he yelded "himselfe, and sayde, 'Sir James Lindsay, I yelde me to "you.'—'Well,' quod he; 'and I receyve you, rescue or no "rescue.'—'I am content,' quod Reedman, 'so ye dele wyth "me like a good companyon.'—'I shall not fayle that,' quod "Lindsay, and so put up his swerd.—'Well,' said Reedman,

" ' what will ye nowe that I shall do? I am your prisoner;
" ye have conquered me; I wolde gladly go agayn to New-
" castell, and, within fiftene dayes, I shall come to you into
" Scotland, where as ye shall assigne me.'—' I am content,'
" quod Lindsay; ' ye shall promyse, by your faythe, to pre-
" sent yourselfe, within these foure wekes, at Edinborowe;
" and wheresoever ye go, to repute yourselfe my prisoner.'
" All this Sir Mathewe sware, and promised to fulfil."

The warriors parted upon these liberal terms, and Reedman returned to Newcastle. But Lindsay had scarcely ridden a mile, when he met the Bishop of Durham, with 500 horse, whom he rode towards, believing them to be Scottish, until he was too near them to escape. " The bysshoppe stepte to
" him, and sayde, ' Lindsay, ye are taken; yelde ye to me.'
" —' Who be you?' quod Lindsay.—' I am,' quod he, ' the
" Bysshoppe of Durham.'—' And fro whens come you, sir?'
" quod Lindsay.—' I come fro the battell,' quod the bys-
" shoppe, ' but I strucke never a stroke there. I go backe to
" Newcastell for this night, and ye shal go with me.'—' I
" may not chuse,' quod Lindsay, ' sith ye will have it so. I
" have taken, and I am taken; suche is the adventures of
" armes.' "—Lindsay was accordingly conveyed to the bishop's lodgings in Newcastle, and here he was met by his prisoner Sir Matthew Reedman; who " founde hym in a studye, lying
" in a windowe, and sayde, ' What! Sir James Lindsay,
" what make you here?'—Than Sir James came forth of the
" study to him, and sayde, ' By my fayth, Sir Mathewe, for-
" tune hath brought me hyder; for, as soon as I was departed
" fro you, I mete by chaunce the Bisshoppe of Durham, to
" whom I am prisoner, as ye be to me. I beleve ye shall not
" nede to come to Edenborowe to me to mak your fynaunce.
" I think, rather, we shall make an exchange one for another,
" if the bisshoppe be also contente.'—' Well, sir,' quod Reed-
" man, ' we shall accord ryght well toguyder; ye shall dine
" this day with me; the bysshoppe and our men be gone forth
" to fyght with your men. I can nat tell what we shall know
" at their retourne.'—' I am content to dyne with you,' quod

" Lindsay."—FROISSART'S *Chronicle*, translated by Bourchier, Lord Berners, vol. I. chap. 146.

O gran bontà de' cavalieri antiqui!
Eran rivali, eran di fè diversi;
E si sentian, de gli aspri colpi iniqui,
Per tutta la persona anco dolersi;
E pur per selve oscure, e calle iniqui
Insieme van senza sospetta aversi.

L'Orlando.

But the Jardines wald not with him ride.—P. 64. v. 2.

The Jardines were a clan of hardy West-Border men. Their chief was Jardine of Applegirth. Their refusal to ride with Douglas was, probably, the result of one of those perpetual feuds, which usually rent to pieces a Scottish army.

And he that had a bonny boy,
Sent out his horse to grass.—P. 69. v. 4.

Froissart describes a Scottish host, of the same period, as consisting of " IIII. M. men of armes, knightis, and squires, " mounted on good horses; and other X. M. men of warre " armed, after their gyse, right hardy and firse, mounted on " lytle hackneys, the whiche were never tied, nor kept at hard " meat, but lette go to pasture in the fieldis and bushes."—*Chronykle of Froissart*, translated by Lord Berners, chap. xvii.

THE SANG

OF

THE OUTLAW MURRAY.

THIS ballad appears to have been composed about the reign of James V. It commemorates a transaction, supposed to have taken place betwixt a Scottish monarch, and an ancestor of the ancient family of Murray of Philiphaugh, in Selkirkshire. The editor is unable to ascertain the historical foundation of the tale; nor is it probable that any light can be thrown upon the subject, without an accurate examination of the family charter chest. It is certain, that, during the civil wars betwixt Bruce and Baliol, the family of Philiphaugh existed, and was powerful; for their ancestor, Archibald de Moravia, subscribes the oath of fealty to Edward I. A. D. 1296. It is, therefore, not unlikely, that, residing in a wild and fron-

tier country, they may have, at one period or other, during these commotions, refused allegiance to the feeble monarch of the day, and thus extorted from him some grant of territory or jurisdiction. It is also certain, that, by a charter from James IV., dated November 30, 1509, John Murray of Philiphaugh is vested with the dignity of heritable Sheriff of Ettrick Forest, an office held by his descendants till the final abolition of such jurisdictions by 28th George II., cap. 23. But it seems difficult to believe, that the circumstances mentioned in the ballad could occur under the reign of so vigorous a monarch as James IV. It is true, that the *Dramatis Personæ* introduced seem to refer to the end of the fifteenth, or beginning of the sixteenth century; but from this it can only be argued, that the author himself lived soon after that period. It may, therefore, be supposed (unless farther evidence can be produced, tending to invalidate the conclusion,) that the bard, willing to pay his court to the family, has connected the grant of the sheriffship by James IV., with some further dispute betwixt the Murrays of Philiphaugh and their sovereign, occurring either while they were engaged upon the side of Baliol, or in the subsequent reigns of David II. and Robert II. and III., when the English possessed great part of the Scottish frontier, and the rest was in so lawless a state as hardly to acknowledge any superior. At the same time, this reasoning is not absolutely conclusive. James IV. had particular reasons for desiring that Ettrick Forest, which, ac-

tually formed part of the jointure lands of Margaret, his Queen, should be kept in a state of tranquillity.—Rymer, vol. XIII. p. 66. In order to accomplish this object, it was natural for him, according to the policy of his predecessors, to invest one great family with the power of keeping order among the rest. It is even probable, that the Philiphaugh family may have had claims upon part of the lordship of Ettrick Forest, which lay intermingled with their own extensive possessions; and, in the course of arranging, not indeed the feudal superiority, but the property, of these lands, a dispute may have arisen, of sufficient importance to be the ground-work of a ballad.—It is farther probable, that the Murrays, like other Border clans, were in a very lawless state, and held their lands merely by occupancy, without any feudal right. Indeed the lands of the various proprietors in Ettrick Forest, (being a royal demesne,) were held by the possessors, not in property, but as the kindly tenants, or rentallers, of the crown; and it is only about 150 years since they obtained charters, striking the feu-duty of each proprietor, at the rate of the quit-rent which he formerly paid. This state of possession naturally led to a confusion of rights and claims. The kings of Scotland were often reduced to the humiliating necessity of compromising such matters with their rebellious subjects, and James himself even entered into a sort of league with Johnie Faa, the king of the gypsies.—Perhaps, therefore, the tradition, handed down in this song, may

have had more foundation than it would at present be proper positively to assert.

The merit of this beautiful old tale, it is thought, will be fully acknowledged. It has been, for ages, a popular song in Selkirkshire. The scene is, by the common people, supposed to have been the castle of Newark upon Yarrow. This is highly improbable, because Newark was always a royal fortress. Indeed, the late excellent antiquarian, Mr Plummer, Sheriff-depute of Selkirkshire, has assured the editor, that he remembered the *insignia* of the unicorns, &c. so often mentioned in the ballad, in existence upon the old tower of Hangingshaw, the seat of the Philiphaugh family; although, upon first perusing a copy of the ballad, he was inclined to subscribe to the popular opinion. The tower of Hangingshaw has been demolished for many years. It stood in a romantic and solitary situation, on the classical banks of the Yarrow. When the mountains around Hangingshaw were covered with the wild copse which constituted a Scottish forest, a more secure strong-hold for an outlawed baron can hardly be imagined.

The tradition of Ettrick Forest bears, that the Outlaw was a man of prodigious strength, possessing a batton or club, with which he laid *lee* (i. e. waste) the country for many miles round; and that he was at length slain by Buccleuch, or some of his clan, at a little mount, covered with fir-trees, adjoining to Newark castle, and said to have been a part of the garden. A varying tradi-

tion bears the place of his death to have been near to the house of the Duke of Buccleuch's game-keeper, beneath the castle; and that the fatal arrow was shot by Scott of Haining, from the ruins of a cottage on the opposite side of the Yarrow. There were extant, within these twenty years, some verses of a song on his death. The feud betwixt the Outlaw and the Scotts may serve to explain the asperity with which the chieftain of that clan is handled in the ballad.

In publishing the following ballad, the copy principally resorted to is one, apparently of considerable antiquity, which was found among the papers of the late Mrs Cockburn of Edinburgh, a lady whose memory will be long honoured by all who knew her. Another copy, much more imperfect, is to be found in Glenriddel's MSS. The names are in this last miserably mangled, as is always the case when ballads are taken down from the recitation of persons living at a distance from the scenes in which they are laid. Mr Plummer also gave the editor a few additional verses, not contained in either copy, which are thrown into what seemed their proper place. There is yet another copy, in Mr Herd's MSS., which has been occasionally made use of. Two verses are restored in the present edition, from the recitation of Mr Mungo Park, whose toils, during his patient and intrepid travels in Africa, have not eradicated from his recollection the legendary lore of his native country.

The arms of the Philiphaugh family are said by tradition to allude to their outlawed state. They are indeed those of a huntsman, and are blazoned thus; Argent, a hunting horn sable, stringed and garnished gules, on a chief azure, three stars of the first. Crest, a Demi Forester, winding his horn, proper. Motto, *Hinc usque superna venabor.*

THE SANG

OF

THE OUTLAW MURRAY.

Ettricke Foreste is a feir foreste,
In it grows manie a semelie trie;
There's hart and hynd, and dae and rae,
And of a' wilde beastis grete plentie.

There's a feir castelle, bigged wi' lyme and stane;
O! gin it stands not pleasauntlie!
In the forefront o' that castelle feir,
Twa unicorns are bra' to see;
There's the picture of a knight, and a ladye bright,
And the grene hollin abune their brie.*

* Brow.

There an Outlaw keepis five hundred men;
He keepis a royalle companie!
His merryemen are a' in ae liverye clad,
O' the Lincome grene saye gaye to see;
He and his ladye in purple clad,
O! gin they lived not royallie!

Word is gane to our nobil King,
In Edinburgh, where that he lay,
That there was an Outlaw in Ettricke Foreste,
Counted him nought, nor a' his courtrie gay.

"I make a vowe," then the gude King said,
"Unto the man that deir bought me,
"I'se either be King of Ettricke Foreste,
"Or King of Scotlonde that Outlaw sall be!"

Then spake the lord, hight Hamilton,
And to the nobil King said he,
"My sovereign prince, sum counsell take,
"First at your nobilis, syne at me.

"I redd ye, send yon braw Outlaw till,
"And see gif your man cum will he:
"Desyre him cum and be your man,
"And hald of you yon Foreste frie.

" Gif ye refuse to do that,
" We'll conquess baith his landis and he !
" Or else, we'll throw his castell down,
" And make a widowe o' his gay ladye."

The King then call'd a gentleman,
James Boyde, (the Earle of Arran his brother was he)
When James he cam before the King,
He knelit befor him on his kné.

" Wellcum, James Boyd !" said our nobil King ;
" A message ye maun gang for me ;
" Ye maun hye to Ettricke Foreste,
" To yon Outlaw, where bydeth he ;

" Ask him of whom he haldis his landis,
" Or man, wha may his master be,
" And desyre him cum, and be my man,
" And hald of me yon Foreste frie.

" To Edinburgh to cum and gang,
" His safe warrant I sall gie ;
" And gif he refuses to do that,
" We'll conquess baith his landis and he.

" Thou may'st vow I'll cast his castell down,
" And mak a widowe o' his gay ladye;
" I'll hang his merryemen, payr by payr,
" In ony frith where I may them see."

James Boyd tuik his leave o' the nobil King,
To Ettricke Foreste feir cam he;
Down Birkendale Brae when that he cam,
He saw the feir Foreste wi' his e'e.

Baith dae and rae, and harte and hinde,
And of a' wilde beastis great plentie;
He heard the bows that bauldly ring,
And arrows whidderan' hym near bi.

Of that feir castell he got a sight;
The like he neir saw wi' his e'e!
On the fore front o' that castell feir,
Twa unicorns were gaye to see;
The picture of a knight, and lady bright,
And the grene hollin abune their brie.

Thereat he spyed five hundred men,
Shuting with bows on Newark Lee;

They were a' in ae livery clad,
O' the Lincome grene sae gaye to see.

His men were a' clad in the grene,
The knight was armed capapie,
With a bended bow, on a milk-white steed;
And I wot they rank'd right bonilie.

Therby Boyd kend he was master man,
And serv'd him in his ain degré.
"God mot thee save, brave Outlaw Murray!
"Thy ladye, and all thy chyvalrie!"
"Marry, thou's wellcum, gentleman,
"Some king's messenger thou seemis to be."

"The King of Scotlonde sent me here,
"And, gude Outlaw, I am sent to thee;
"I wad wot of whom ye hald your landis,
"Or man, wha may thy master be?"

"Thir landis are MINE!" the Outlaw said;
"I ken nae King in Christentie;
"Frae Soudron * I this Foreste wan,
"Whan the King nor his knightis were not to see."

* Southern, or English.

" He desyres you'l cum to Edinburgh,
" And hauld of him this Foreste frie;
" And, gif ye refuse to do this,
" He'll conquess baith thy landis and thee.
" He hath vow'd to cast thy castell down,
" And mak a widowe o' thy gaye ladye;

" He'll hang thy merryemen, payr by payr,
" In ony frith where he may them finde."
" Aye, by my troth!" the Outlaw said,
" Than wald I thinke me far behinde.

" Ere the King my feir countrie get,
" This land that's nativest to me!
" Mony o' his nobilis sall be cauld,
" Their ladyes sall be right wearie."

Then spak his ladye, feir of face,
She seyd, " Without consent of me,
" That an Outlaw suld cum befor a King;
" I am right rad* of treasonrie.
" Bid him be gude to his lordis at hame,
" For Edinburgh my lord sall nevir see."

* Afraid.

James Boyd tuik his leave o' the Outlaw kene,
To Edinburgh boun is he;
When James he cam before the King,
He knelit lowlie on his kné.

"Welcum, James Boyd!" seyd our nobil King;
"What foreste is Ettricke Foreste frie?"
"Ettricke Foreste is the feirest foreste
"That evir man saw wi' his e'e.

"There's the dae, the rae, the hart, the hynde,
"And of a' wild beastis grete plentie;
"There's a pretty castell of lyme and stane,
"O gif it standis not pleasauntlie!

"There's in the forefront o' that castell,
"Twa unicorns, sae bra' to see;
"There's the picture of a knight, and a ladye bright,
"Wi' the grene hollin abune their brie.

"There the Outlaw keepis five hundred men,
"He keepis a royalle cumpanie!
"His merrymen in ae livery clad,
"O' the Lincome grene sae gaye to see:

" He and his ladye in purple clad;
" O! gin they live not royallie!

" He says, yon Foreste is his awin;
" He wan it frae the Southronie;
" Sae as he wan it, sae will he keep it,
" Contrair all kingis in Christentie."

" Gar warn me Perthshire, and Angus baith;
" Fife up and downe, and Louthians three,
" And graith my horse!" said our nobil King,
" For to Ettricke Foreste hie will I me."

Then word is gane the Outlaw till,
In Ettricke Foreste, where dwelleth he,
That the King was cuming to his cuntrie,
To conquess baith his landis and he.

" I mak a vow," the Outlaw said,
" I mak a vow, and that trulie,
" Were there but three men to tak my pairt,
" Yon King's cuming full deir suld be!"

Then messengers he called forth,
And bade them hie them speedilye—
"Ane of ye gae to Halliday,
"The Laird of the Corehead is he.

"He certain is my sister's son;
"Bid him cum quick and succour me!
"The King cums on for Ettricke Foreste,
"And landless men we a' will be."

"What news? What news?" said Halliday,
"Man, frae thy master unto me?"
"Not as ye wad; seeking your aide;
"The King's his mortal enemie."

"Aye, by my troth!" said Halliday,
"Even for that it repenteth me;
"For gif he lose feir Ettricke Foreste,
"He'll tak feir Moffatdale frae me.

"I'll meet him wi' five hundred men,
"And surely mair, if mae may be;
"And before he gets the Foreste feir,
"We a' will die on Newark Lee!

The Outlaw call'd a messenger,
And bid him hie him speedilye,
To Andrew Murray of Cockpool—
"That man's a deir cousin to me;
"Desyre him cum, and mak me ayd,
"With a' the power that he may be."

"It stands me hard," Andrew Murray said,
"Judge gif it stand na hard wi' me;
"To enter against a King wi' crown,
"And set my landis in jeopardie!
"Yet, if I cum not on the day,
"Surely at night he sall me see."

To Sir James Murray of Traquair,
A message cam right speedilye—
"What news? What news?" James Murray said,
"Man, frae thy master unto me?"

"What neids I tell? for weel ye ken,
"The King's his mortal enemie;
"And now he is cuming to Ettricke Foreste,
"And landless men ye a' will be."

" And, by my trothe," James Murray said,
" Wi' that Outlaw will I live and die;
" The King has gifted my landis lang syne—
" It cannot be nae warse wi' me."

The King was cuming thro' Caddon Ford,*
And full five thousand men was he;
They saw the derke Foreste them before,
They thought it awsome for to see.

Then spak the lord, hight Hamilton,
And to the noble King said he,
" My sovereign liege, sum council tak,
" First at your nobilis, syne at me.

" Desyre him mete thee at Permanscore,
" And bring four in his cumpanie;
" Five Erles sall gang yoursell befor,
" Gude cause that you suld honour'd be.

" And, gif he refuses to do that,
" We'll conquess baith his landis and he;

* A ford on the Tweed, at the mouth of the Caddon Burn, near Yair.

" There sall nevir a Murray, after him,
" Hald land in Ettricke Foreste frie."

Then spak the kene Laird of Buckscleuth,
A stalworthye man, and sterne was he—
" For a King to gang an Outlaw till,
" Is beneath his state and his dignitie.

" The man that wons yon Foreste intill,
" He lives by reif and felonie !
" Wherfor, brayd on, my sovereign liege !
" Wi' fire and sword we'll follow thee ;
" Or, gif your courtrie lords fa' back,
" Our Borderers sall the onset gie."

Then out and spak the nobil King,
And round him cast a wilie e'e—
" Now had thy tongue, Sir Walter Scott,
" Nor speak of reif nor felonie :
" For, had every honeste man his awin kye,
" A right puir clan thy name wad be !"

The King then call'd a gentleman,
Royal banner-bearer there was he ;

James Hop Pringle of Torsonse, by name;
He cam and knelit upon his kné.

" Wellcum, James Pringle of Torsonse!
" A message ye maun gang for me;
" Ye maun gae to yon Outlaw Murray,
" Surely where bauldly bideth he.

" Bid him mete me at Permanscore,
" And bring four in his cumpanie;
" Five erles sall cum wi' mysel,
" Gude reason I suld honour'd be.

" And gif he refuses to do that,
" Bid him luke for nae good o' me!
" There sall nevir a Murray, after him,
" Have land in Ettricke Foreste frie."

James cam before the Outlaw kene,
And serv'd him in his ain degré—
" Welcum, James Pringle of Torsonse!
" What message frae the King to me?"

" He bids ye mete him at Permanscore,
" And bring four in your cumpanie;
" Five erles sall gang himsell befor,
" Nae mair in number will he be.

" And gif you refuse to do that,
" (I freely here upgive wi' thee)
" He'll cast yon bonny castle down,
" And make a widowe o' that gaye ladye.

" He'll loose yon bluidhound Borderers,
" Wi' fire and sword to follow thee;
" There will nevir a Murray, after thysell,
" Have land in Ettricke Forest frie."

" It stands me hard," the Outlaw said;
" Judge gif it stands na hard wi' me,
" Wha reck not losing of mysell,
" But a' my offspring after me.

" My merryemen's lives, my widowe's teirs—
" There lies the pang that pinches me;
" When I am straught in bluidie eard,
" Yon castell will be right dreirie.

" Auld Halliday, young Halliday,
" Ye sall be twa to gang wi' me;
" Andrew Murray, and Sir James Murray,
" We'll be nae mae in cumpanie."

When that they cam before the King,
They fell befor him on their kné—
" Grant mercie, mercie, nobil King!
" E'en for his sake that dyed on trie.

" Sicken like mercie sall ye have;
" On gallows ye sall hangit be!"
" Over God's forbode," quoth the Outlaw then,
" I hope your grace will bettir be!
" Else, ere you come to Edinburgh port,
" I trow thin guarded sall ye be:

" Thir landis of Ettricke Foreste feir,
" I wan them from the enemie;
" Like as I wan them, sae will I keep them,
" Contrair a' kingis in Christentie."

All the nobilis the King about,
Said pitie it were to see him die—

" Yet graunt me mercie, sovereign prince!
" Extend your favour unto me!

" I'll give thee the keys of my castell,
" Wi' the blessing o' my gaye ladye,
" Gin thou'lt make me sheriffe of this Foreste,
" And a' my offspring after me."

" Wilt thou give me the keys of thy castell,
" Wi' the blessing of thy gaye ladye?
" I'se make thee sheriff of Ettricke Foreste,
" Surely while upward grows the trie;
" If you be not traitour to the King,
" Forfaulted sall thou nevir be."

" But, Prince, what sall cum o' my men?
" When I gae back, traitour they'll ca' me.
" I had rather lose my life and land,
" Ere my merryemen rebuked me."

" Will your merryemen amend their lives?
" And a' their pardons I grant thee—
" Now, name thy landis where'er they lie,
" And here I RENDER them to thee."

" Fair Philiphaugh is mine by right,
" And Lewinshope still mine shall be;
" Newark, Foulshiells, and Tinnies baith,
" My bow and arrow purchased me.

" And I have native steads to me,
" The Newark Lee and Hangingshaw;
" I have mony steads in the Foreste shaw,
" But them by name I dinna knaw."

The keys o' the castell he gave the King,
Wi' the blessing o' his feir ladye;
He was made sheriffe of Ettricke Foreste,
Surely while upward grows the trie;
And if he was na traitour to the King,
Forfaulted he suld nevir be.

Wha ever heard, in ony times,
Sicken an Outlaw in his degré,
Sic favour get befor a King,
As did the Outlaw Murray of the Foreste frie?

NOTES

ON THE

SANG OF THE OUTLAW MURRAY.

Then spake the Lord, hight Hamilton.—P. 88. v. 4.

This is, in most copies, the *earl* hight Hamilton, which must be a mistake of the reciters, as the family did not enjoy that title till 1503.

James Boyd (the Earl of Arran his brother,) &c.—P. 89. v. 2.

Thomas Boyd, Earl of Arran, was forfeited, with his father and uncle, in 1469, for an attempt on the person of James III. He had a son, James, who was restored, and in favour with James IV. about 1482. If this be the person here meant, we should read, "The Earl of Arran his *son* was he." Glenriddel's copy reads, "a highland laird I'm sure was he." Reciters sometimes call the messenger, the Laird of Skene.

Down Birkendale Brae when that he cam.—P. 90. v. 2.

Birkendale Brae, now commonly called *Birkendailly*, is a steep descent on the south side of Minch-moor, which separates Tweed-dale from Ettrick Forest; and from the top of which you have the first view of the woods of Hangingshaw, the castle of Newark, and the romantic dale of Yarrow.

The Laird of the Corehead, &c.—P. 95. v. 1.

This is a place at the head of Moffat-water, possessed of old by the family of Halliday.

To Andrew Murray of Cockpool.—P. 98. v. 1.

This family were ancestors of the Murrays, Earls of Annandale; but the name of the representative, in the time of James IV. was William, not Andrew. Glenriddel's MS. reads, "the "country-keeper."

To Sir James Murray of Traquair.—P. 96. v. 3.

Before the Barony of Traquair became the property of the Stewarts, it belonged to a family of Murrays, afterwards Murrays of Black-barony, and ancestors of Lord Elibank. The old castle was situated on the Tweed. The lands of Traquair were forfeited by Willielmus de Moravia, previous to 1464; for, in that year, a charter, proceeding upon his forfeiture, was granted by the crown "Willielmo Douglas de Cluny." Sir James was, perhaps, the heir of William Murray. It would farther seem, that the grant in 1464 was not made effectual by Douglas; for, another charter from the crown, dated the 3d February, 1478, conveys the estate of Traquair to James Stewart, Earl of Buchan, son of the Black Knight of Lorne, and maternal uncle to James III., from whom is descended the present Earl of Traquair. The first royal grant not being followed by possession, it is very possible that the Murrays may have continued to occupy Traquair long after the date of that charter. Hence, Sir James might have reason to say, as in the ballad, "The King has gifted my lands lang syne."

James Hop Pringle of Torsonse.—P. 99. v. 1.

The honourable name of Pringle, or Hoppringle, is of great antiquity in Roxburghshire and Selkirkshire. The old tower of Torsonse is situated upon the banks of the Gala. I believe the Pringles of Torsonse are now represented by Sir John Pringle of Stitchell. There are three other ancient and dis-

tinguished families of this name; those of Whitebank, Clifton, and Torwoodlee.

He bids ye mete him at Permanscore.—P. 100. v. 1.

Permanscore is a very remarkable hollow on the top of a high ridge of hills, dividing the vales of Tweed and Yarrow, a little to the eastward of Minch-moor. It is the outermost point of the lands of Broadmeadows. The Glenriddel MS., which, in this instance, is extremely inaccurate as to names, calls the place of rendezvous, "*The Poor Man's House*," and hints that the Outlaw was surprised by the treachery of the King:—

"Then he was aware of the King's coming,
"With hundreds three in company,
"I wot the muckle deel * * * * *
"He learned Kingis to lie!
"For to fetch me here frae amang my men,
"Here like a dog for to die."

I believe the reader will think with me, that the catastrophe is better, as now printed from Mrs Cockburn's copy. The deceit, supposed to be practised on the Outlaw, is unworthy of the military monarch, as he is painted in the ballad; especially if we admit him to be King James IV.

Fair Philiphaugh is mine by right.—P. 103. v. 1.

In this and the following verse, the ceremony of feudal investiture is supposed to be gone through, by the Outlaw resigning his possessions into the hands of the king, and receiving them back, to be held of him as superior. The lands of Philiphaugh are still possessed by the Outlaw's representative. Hangingshaw and Lewinshope were sold of late years. Newark, Foulshiels, and Tinnies, have long belonged to the family of Buccleuch.

JOHNIE ARMSTRANG.

THERE will be such frequent occasion, in the course of this volume, to mention the clan, or sept, of the Armstrongs, that the editor finds it necessary to prefix to this ballad some general account of that tribe.

The Armstrongs appear to have been at an early period in possession of great part of Liddesdale, and of the Debateable Land. Their immediate neighbourhood to England rendered them the most lawless of the Border depredators; and, as much of the country possessed by them was claimed by both kingdoms, the inhabitants, protected from justice by the one nation, in opposition to the other, securely preyed upon both.* The chief was Armstrong of Mangertoun; but, at a later period,

* In illustration of this position, the reader is referred to a long correspondence betwixt Lord Dacre and the Privy Council of England, in 1550, concerning one Sandye Armstrang, a partizan of England, and an inhabitant of the Debateable Land, who had threatened to become a Scottishman, if he was not protected by the English warden against the Lord of Maxwell.—See *Introduction to Nicholson and Burns' History of Cumberland and Westmorland.*

they are declared a broken clan, *i. e.* one which had no lawful head, to become surety for their good behaviour. The rapacity of this clan, and of their allies, the Elliots, occasioned the popular saying, "Elliots and Armstrongs "ride thieves all." But to what Border-family of note, in former days, would not such an adage have been equally applicable? All along the river Liddel may still be discovered the ruins of towers, possessed by this numerous clan. They did not, however, entirely trust to these fastnesses; but, when attacked by a superior force, abandoned entirely their dwellings, and retired into morasses, accessible by paths known to themselves alone. One of their most noted places of refuge was the Tarras Moss, a desolate and horrible marsh, through which a small river takes its course. Upon its banks are found some dry spots, which were occupied by these outlaws, and their families, in cases of emergency. The stream runs furiously among huge rocks, which has occasioned a popular saying—

> Was ne'er ane drown'd in Tarras, nor yet in doubt,
> For e'er the head can win down, the harns (brains) are out

The morass itself is so deep, that, according to an old historian, two spears tied together would not reach the bottom. In this retreat, the Armstrongs, *anno* 1588, baffled the Earl of Angus, when lieutenant on the Border, although he reckoned himself so skilful in winding a thief, that he declared, "he had the same pleasure in

it, as others in hunting a hare." On this occasion he was totally unsuccessful, and nearly lost his relation, Douglas of Ively, whom the freebooters made prisoner. —GODSCROFT, vol. II. p. 411.

Upon another occasion the Armstrongs were less fortunate. They had, in one of their incursions, plundered the town of Haltwhistle, on the borders of Cumberland. Sir Robert Carey, warden of the West Marches, demanded satisfaction from the King of Scotland, and received for answer, that the offenders were no subjects of his, and that he might take his own revenge. The English warden accordingly entered Liddesdale, and ravaged the lands of the outlaws; on which occasion, *Sim of the Cat-hill* (an Armstrong) was killed by one of the Ridleys of Haltwhistle. This incident procured Haltwhistle another visit from the Armstrongs, in which they burnt great part of the town, but not without losing one of their leaders, by a shot from a window.

"The death of this young man (says Sir Robert Carey) "wrote (wrought) so deep an impression upon them (the "outlaws) as many vowes were made, that before the "end of next winter, they would lay the whole Border "waste. This (the murder) was done about the end of "May (1598.) The chiefe of all these outlaws was *old* "*Sim of Whitlram.** He had five or six sonnes, as able

* Whittram is a place in Liddesdale. It is mistaken by the noble editor for Whithern, in Galloway, as is Hartwessel (Haltwhistle, on the borders of Cumberland) for Twisel, a village on the English side of the Tweed, near Wark.

" men as the Borders had. This old man and his sonnes
" had not so few as two hundred at their commands,
" that were ever ready to ride with them to all actions,
" at their beck.

" The high parts of the marsh (march) towards Scot-
" land were put in a mighty fear, and the chiefs of them,
" for themselves and the rest, petitioned to mee, and did
" assure mee, that unless I did take some course with
" them by the end of that summer, there was none of
" the inhabitants durst, or would, stay in their dwellings
" the next winter, but they would fley the countrey,
" and leave their houses and lands to the fury of the
" outlawes. Upon this complaint, I called the gentlemen
" of the countrey together, and acquainted them with
" the misery that the highest parts of the marsh towards
" Scotland were likely to endure, if there were not time-
" ly prevention to avoid it, and desired them to give mee
" their best advice what course were fitt to be taken.
" They all showed themselves willing to give mee their
" best counsailes, and most of them were of opinion, that
" I was not well advised to refuse the hundred horse that-
" my Lord Euers had; and that now my best way was
" speedily to acquaint the Queene and counsaille with
" the necessity of having more soldiers, and that there
" could not be less than a hundred horse sent down for
" the defence of the countrey, besides the forty I had
" already in pay, and that there was nothing but force
" of soldiers could keep them in awe; and to let the

" counsaile plainly understand, that the marsh, of them-
" selves, were not able to subsist, whenever the winter
" and long nights came in, unlesse present cure and re-
" medy were provided for them. I desired them to ad-
" vise better of it, and to see if they could find out any
" other means to prevent their mischievous intentions,
" without putting the Quene and countrey to any further
" charge. They all resolved that there was no second
" meanes. Then I told them my intention what I meant
" to do, which was, that myself, with my two deputies,
" and the forty horse that I was allowed, would, with
" what speed wee could, make ourselves ready to go up
" to the Wastes, and there wee would entrench our-
" selves, and lye as near as wee could to the out-
" lawes; and, if there were any brave spirits among
" them, that would go with us, they should be very
" wellcome, and fare and lye as well as myselfe: and I
" did not doubt, before the summer ended, to do some-
" thing that should abate the pride of these outlawes.
" Those that were unwilling to hazard themselves, liked
" not this motion. They said, that, in so doing, I might
" keep the country quiet the time I lay there, but, when
" the winter approached, I could stay there no longer,
" and that was the theeves' time to do all their mis-
" chiefs. But there were divers young gentlemen that
" offered to go with mee, some with three, some with
" four horses, and to stay with mee as long as I would
" there continue. I took a list of those that offered to
" go with mee, and found, that, with myself, my offi-
" cers, the gentlemen, and our servants, wee should be

" about two hundred good men and horse; a competent
" number, as I thought, for such a service.

" The day and place was appointed for our meeting
" in the Wastes, and, by the help of the Foot of Liddis-
" dale* and Risdale, wee had soone built a pretty fort,
" and within it we had all cabines made to lye in, and
" every one brought beds or matresses to lye on. There
" wee stayed from the middest of June, till almost the
" end of August. We were betweene fifty and sixty gen-
" tlemen, besides their servants and my horsemen; so
" that wee were not so few as two hundred horse. Wee
" wanted no provisions for ourselves nor our horses, for
" the countrey people were well paid for any thing they
" brought us; so that wee had a good market every
" day, before our fort, to buy what we lacked. The
" chiefe outlawes at our coming, fled their houses where
" they dwelt, and betooke themselves to a large and
" great forest (with all their goodes,) which was called
" the Tarras. It was of that strength, and so surround-
" ed with bogges and marish grounds, and thicke bushes
" and shrubbes, as they feared not the force nor power
" of England nor Scotland, so long as they were there.
" They sent me word, that I was like the first puffe of
" a haggasse,† hottest at the first, and bade me stay

* The Foot of Liddisdale were the garrison of King James in the castle of Hermitage, who assisted Carey on this occasion, as the Armstrongs were outlaws to both nations.

† A haggis, (according to Burns, "the chieftain of the pudding-race,") is an olio, composed of the liver, heart, &c. of a sheep, minced

" there as long as the weather would give me leave.
" They would stay in the Tarras Wood till I was weary
" of lying in the Waste: and when I had had my time,
" and they no whit the worse, they would play their
" parts, which should keep mee waking the next win-
" ter. Those gentlemen of the country that came not
" with mee, were of the same minde; for they knew
" (or thought at least,) that my force was not sufficient
" to withstand the furey of the outlawes. The time I
" staid at the fort I was not idle, but cast, by all meanes
" I could, how to take them in the great strength they
" were in. I found a meanes to send a hundred and
" fifty horsemen into Scotland (conveighed by a muf-
" fled man,* not known to one of the company,) thirty
" miles within Scotland, and the businesse was carried
" so, that none in the countrey tooke any alarm at this
" passage. They were quietly brought to the backside
" of the Tarras, to Scotland-ward. There they divided
" themselves into three parts, and took up three pas-
" sages which the outlawes made themselves secure of,
" if from England side they should at any time be put at.

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down with oatmeal, onions, and spices, and boiled in the stomach of the animal, by way of bag. When this bag is cut, the contents (if this savoury dish be well made) should spout out with the heated air. This will explain the allusion.

* A Muffled Man means a person in disguise; a very necessary precaution for the guide's safety; for, could the outlaws have learned who played them this trick, beyond all doubt it must have cost him dear.

"They had their scoutes on the tops of hills, on the Eng-
"lish side, to give them warning if at any time any
"power of men should come to surprise them. The three
"ambushes were safely laid, without being discovered,
"and, about four o'clock in the morning, there were
"three hundred horse, and a thousand foot,* that came
"directly to the place where the scoutes lay. They gave
"the alarm; our men brake down as fast as they could
"into the wood. The outlawes thought themselves safe,
"assuring themselves at any time to escape; but they
"were so strongly set upon, on the English side, as they
"were forced to leave their goodes, and betake them-
"selves to their passages towards Scotland. There was
"presently five taken of the principal of them. The rest,
"seeing themselves, as they thought, betrayed, retired
"into the thicke woodes and bogges,† that our men
"durst not follow them for fear of loosing themselves.
"The principall of the five, that were taken, were two
"of the eldest sonnes of *Sim of Whitram*. These five
"they brought to mee to the fort, and a number of

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* From this it would appear, that Carey, although his constant attendants in his fort consisted only of 200 horse, had upon this occasion, by the assistance, probably, of the English and Scottish royal garrisons, collected a much greater force.

† There are now no trees in Liddesdale, except on the banks of the rivers, where they are protected from the sheep. But the stumps and fallen timber, which are every where found in the morasses, attest how well the country must have been wooded in former days.

" goodes, both of sheep and kine, which satisfied most " part of the country that they had stolen them from.

" The five, that were taken, were of great worth and " value amongst them; insomuch, that, for their liberty, " I should have what conditions I should demand or de- " sire. First, all English prisoners were set at liberty. " Then had I themselves, and most part of the gentle- " men of the Scottish side, so strictly bound in bondes " to enter to mee, in fifteen dayes warning, any offend- " our, that they durst not, for their lives, break any co- " venant that I made with them; and so, upon these " conditions, I set them at liberty, and was never after " troubled with these kind of people. Thus God bless- " ed me in bringing this great trouble to so quiet an " end; wee brake up our fort, and every man retired to " his own house."—CAREY'S *Memoirs*, p. 151.

The people of Liddesdale have retained, by tradition, the remembrance of *Carey's Raid*, as they call it. They tell, that, while he was besieging the outlaws in the Tarras, they contrived, by ways known only to themselves, to send a party into England, who plundered the warden's lands. On their return, they sent Carey one of his own cows, telling him, that, fearing he might fall short of provision during his visit to Scotland, they had taken the precaution of sending him some English beef. The anecdote is too characteristic to be suppressed.

From this narrative, the power and strength of the Armstrongs, at this late period, appear to have been very considerable. Even upon the death of Queen Elizabeth,

this clan, associated with other banditti of the West Marches, to the number of two or three hundred horse, entered England in a hostile manner, and extended their ravages as far as Penrith. James VI., then at Berwick, upon his journey to his new capital, detached a large force, under Sir William Selby, captain of Berwick, to bring these depredators to order. Their raid, remarkable for being the last of any note occurring in history, was avenged in an exemplary manner. Most of the strongholds upon the Liddel were razed to the foundation, and several of the principal leaders executed at Carlisle; after which we find little mention of the Armstrongs in history. The precautions, adopted by the Earl of Dunbar, to preserve peace on the Borders, bore peculiarly hard upon a body of men, long accustomed to the most ungoverned licence. They appear, in a great measure, to have fallen victims to the strictness of the new enactments.—REDPATH, p. 703.—STOW, 819.—LAING, vol. I. The lands, possessed by them in former days, have chiefly come into the hands of the Buccleuch family, and of the Elliots; so that, with one or two exceptions, we may say, that, in the country which this warlike clan once occupied, there is hardly left a land-holder of the name.

One of the last Border reivers was, however, of this family, and lived within the beginning of the last century. After having made himself dreaded over the whole country, he at last came to the following end:— One ——, a man of large property, having lost twelve

cows in one night, raised the country of Tiviotdale, and traced the robbers into Liddesdale, as far as the house of this Armstrong, commonly called *Willie of Westburnflat*, from the place of his residence, on the banks of the Hermitage water. Fortunately for the pursuers, he was then asleep; so that he was secured, along with nine of his friends, without much resistance. He was brought to trial at Selkirk; and, although no precise evidence was adduced to convict him of the special fact (the cattle never having been recovered,) yet the jury brought him in *guilty* on his general character, or, as it is called in our law, on habit and repute. When sentence was pronounced, Willie arose; and, seizing the oaken chair in which he was placed, broke it into pieces by main strength, and offered to his companions, who were involved in the same doom, that, if they would stand behind him, he would fight his way out of Selkirk with these weapons. But they held his hands, and besought him to let them *die like Christians*. They were accordingly executed in form of law. This incident is said to have happened at the last Circuit Court held at Selkirk. The people of Liddesdale, who (perhaps not erroneously) still consider the sentence as iniquitous, remarked, that ——, the prosecutor, never throve afterwards, but came to beggary and ruin, with his whole family.

Johnie Armstrong, of Gilnockie, the hero of the following ballad, is a noted personage, both in history and tradition. He was, it would seem from the ballad, a brother of the Laird of Mangertoun, chief of the name.

His place of residence (now a roofless tower) was at the Hollows, a few miles from Langholm, where its ruins still serve to adorn a scene, which, in natural beauty, has few equals in Scotland. At the head of a desperate band of free-booters, this Armstrong is said to have spread the terror of his name almost as far as Newcastle, and to have levied black mail, or protection and forbearance money, for many miles around. James V., of whom it was long remembered by his grateful people that he made the "rush-bush keep the cow," about 1529, undertook an expedition through the Border counties, to suppress the turbulent spirit of the Marchmen. But, before setting out upon his journey, he took the precaution of imprisoning the different Border chieftains, who were the chief protectors of the marauders. The Earl of Bothwell was forfeited, and confined in Edinburgh castle. The Lords of Home and Maxwell, the Lairds of Buccleuch, Fairniherst, and Johnston, with many others, were also committed to ward. Cockburn of Henderland, and Adam Scott of Tushielaw, called the King of the Border, were publicly executed.—LESLEY, p. 430. The King then marched rapidly forward, at the head of a flying army of ten thousand men, through Ettrick Forest and Ewsdale. The evil genius of our Johnie Armstrong, or, as others say, the private advice of some courtiers, prompted him to present himself before James, at the head of thirty-six horse, arrayed in all the pomp of Border chivalry. Pitscottie uses nearly the words of the ballad, in describing the splendour of his equipment,

and his high expectations of favour from the King. "But "James, looking upon him sternly, said to his attend- "ants, 'What wants that knave that a king should "have?' and ordered him and his followers to instant "execution."—"But John Armstrong," continues this minute historian, "made great offers to the King. That "he should sustain himself, with forty gentlemen, ever "ready at his service, on their own cost, without wrong- "ing any Scottishman: Secondly, that there was not a "subject in England, duke, earl, or baron, but, within "a certain day, he should bring him to his majesty, "either quick or dead.* At length he, seeing no hope "of favour, said very proudly, 'It is folly to seek grace "at a graceless face; but,' said he, 'had I known this, "I should have lived upon the Borders in despite of

* The Borderers, from their habits of life, were capable of most extraordinary exploits of this nature. In the year 1511, Sir Robert Ker of Cessford, warden of the Middle Marches of Scotland, was murdered at a Border-meeting, by the bastard Heron, Starhead, and Lilburn. The English monarch delivered up Lilburn to justice in Scotland, but Heron and Starhead escaped. The latter chose his residence in the very centre of England, to baffle the vengeance of Ker's clan and followers. Two dependants of the deceased, called Tait, were deputed by Andrew Ker of Cessford to revenge his father's murder. They travelled through England in various disguises, till they discovered the place of Starhead's retreat, murdered him in his bed, and brought his head in triumph to Edinburgh, where Ker caused it to be exposed at the Cross. The bastard Heron would have shared the same fate, had he not spread abroad a report of his having died of the plague, and caused his funeral obsequies to be performed.—RIDPATH's *History*, p. 481.—*See also Metrical Account of the Battle of Flodden, published by the Rev. Mr* LAMBE.

" King Harry and you both; for I know King Harry " would *down-weigh my best horse with gold*, to know " that I were condemned to die this day."—PITSCOTTIE'S *History*, p. 145. Johnie, with all his retinue, was accordingly hanged upon growing trees, at a place called Carlenrig chapel, about ten miles above Hawick, on the high road to Langholm. The country people believe, that, to manifest the injustice of the execution, the trees withered away. Armstrong and his followers were buried in a deserted churchyard, where their graves are still shewn.

As this Border hero was a person of great note in his way, he is frequently alluded to by the writers of the time. Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, in the curious play published by Mr Pinkerton, from the Bannatyne MS., introduces a pardoner, or knavish dealer in reliques, who produces, among his holy rarities—

——The cordis, baith grit and lang,
Quhilt hangit Johnie Armistrang,
Of gude hempt, soft and sound.
Gude haly pepill, I stand ford,
Wha'evir beis hangit in this cord,
Neidis never to be drowned!
PINKERTON'S *Scottish Poems*, vol. II. p. 69.

In *The Complaynt of Scotland*, John Armistrangis' dance, mentioned as a popular tune, has probably some reference to our hero.

The common people of the high parts of Tiviotdale, Liddesdale, and the country adjacent, hold the memory of Johnie Armstrong in very high respect. They affirm

also, that one of his attendants broke through the King's guard, and carried to Gilnockie Tower the news of the bloody catastrophe.

This song was first published by Allan Ramsay, in his *Evergreen*, who says, he copied it from the mouth of a gentleman, called Armstrong, who was in the sixth generation from this John. The reciter assured him, that this was the genuine old ballad, the common one false. By the common one, Ramsay means an English ballad upon the same subject, but differing in various particulars, which is published in Mr Ritson's *English Songs*, vol. II. It is fortunate for the admirers of the old ballad, that it did not fall into Ramsay's hands when he was equipping with new sets of words the old Scottish tunes in his *Tea-Table Miscellany*. Since his time it has been often re-printed.

JOHNIE ARMSTRANG.

Sum speikis of lords, sum speikis of lairds,
And sick lyke men of hie degrie;
Of a gentleman I sing a sang,
Sum tyme called Laird of Gilnockie.

The King he wrytes a luving letter,
With his ain hand sae tenderly,
And he hath sent it to Johnie Armstrang,
To cum and speik with him speedily.

The Eliots and Armstrangs did convene,
They were a gallant cumpanie—
"We'll ride and meit our lawful King,
"And bring him safe to Gilnockie.

" Make kinnen* and capon ready then,
" And venison in great plentie;
" We'll wellcum here our royal King;
" I hope he'll dine at Gilnockie!"

They ran their horse on the Langholme howm,
And brak their spears wi' mickle main;
The ladies lukit frae their loft windows—
" God bring our men weel back agen!"

When Johnie cam before the King,
Wi' a' his men sae brave to see,
The King he movit his bonnet to him;
He ween'd he was a King as well as he.

" May I find grace, my sovereign liege,
" Grace for my loyal men and me?
" For my name it is Johnie Armstrang,
" And subject of your's, my liege," said he.

" Away, away, thou traitor strang!
" Out o' my sight soon may'st thou be!
" I grantit nevir a traitor's life,
" And now I'll not begin wi' thee."

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* *Kinnen*—Rabbits.

" Grant me my life, my liege, my King!
" And a bonny gift I'll gie to thee—
" Full four and twenty milk-white steids,
" Were a' foaled in ae year to me.

" I'll gie thee a' these milk-white steids,
" That prance and nicker* at a speir;
" And as mickle gude Inglish gilt,†
" As four o' their braid backs dow‡ bear."

" Away, away, thou traitor strang!
" Out o' my sight soon may'st thou be!
" I grantit never a traitor's life,
" And now I'll not begin wi' thee!"

" Grant me my life, my liege, my King!
" And a bonny gift I'll gie to thee—
" Gude four and twenty ganging§ mills,
" That gang thro' a' the yeir to me.

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* *Nicker*—Neigh.
† *Gilt*—Gold.
‡ *Dow*—Able to.
§ *Ganging*—Going.

" These four and twenty mills complete,
" Sall gang for thee thro' a' the yeir ;
" And as mickle of gude reid wheit,
" As a' their happers dow to bear."

" Away, away, thou traitor strang !
" Out o' my sight soon may'st thou be !
" I grantit nevir a traitor's life,
" And now I'll not begin wi' thee."

" Grant me my life, my liege, my King
" And a great gift I'll gie to thee—
" Bauld four and twenty sister's sons,
" Sall for thee fecht, tho' a' should flee !"

" Away, away, thou traitor strang !
" Out o' my sight soon may'st thou be !
" I grantit nevir a traitor's life,
" And now I'll not begin wi' thee."

" Grant me my life, my liege, my King !
" And a brave gift I'll gie to thee—
" All between heir and Newcastle town
" Sall pay their yeirly rent to thee."

"Away, away, thou traitor strang!
"Out o' my sight soon may'st thou be!
"I grantit nevir a traitor's life,
"And now I'll not begin wi' thee."

"Ye lied,* ye lied, now, King," he says,
"Altho' a King and Prince ye be!
"For I've luved naething in my life,
"I weel dare say it, but honesty—

"Save a fat horse, and a fair woman,
"Twa bonny dogs to kill a deir;
"But England suld have found me meal and mault,
"Gif I had lived this hundred yeir!

"She suld have found me meal and mault,
"And beef and mutton in a' plentie;
"But nevir a Scots wyfe could have said,
"That e'er I skaithed her a puir flee.

"To seik het water beneith cauld ice,
"Surely it is a greit folie—
"I have asked grace at a graceless face,
"But there is nane for my men and me!

* *Lied*—Lye.

" But had I kenn'd ere I cam frae hame,
" How thou unkind wadst been to me!
" I wad have keepit the Border side,
" In spite of all thy force and thee.

" Wist England's King that I was ta'en,
" O gin a blythe man he wad be!
" For anes I slew his sister's son,
" And on his breist bane brak a trie."

John wore a girdle about his middle,
Imbroidered ower wi' burning gold,
Bespangled wi' the same metal,
Maist beautiful was to behold.

There hang nine targats* at Johnie's hat,
And ilk ane worth three hundred pound—
" What wants that knave that a King suld have,
" But the sword of honour and the crown?

" O whair got thou these targats, Johnie,
" That blink† sae brawly abune thy brie?"
" I gat them in the field fechting,
" Where, cruel King, thou durst not be.

* *Targats*—Tassels. † *Blink sae brawlie*—Glance so bravely.

" Had I my horse, and harness gude,
" And riding as I wont to be,
" It suld have been tauld this hundred yeir,
" The meeting of my King and me !

" God be with thee, Kirsty,* my brother !
" Lang live thou Laird of Mangertoun !
" Lang may'st thou live on the Border syde,
" Ere thou see thy brother ride up and down !

" And God be with thee, Kirsty, my son,
" Where thou sits on thy nurse's knee !
" But and thou live this hundred yeir,
" Thy father's better thou'lt nevir be.

" Farewell ! my bonny Gilnock hall,
" Where on Esk side thou standest stout !
" Gif I had lived but seven yeirs mair,
" I wad hae gilt thee round about."

John murder'd was at Carlinrigg,
And all his gallant cumpanie ;
But Scotland's heart was ne'er sae wae,
To see sae mony brave men die—

* Christopher.

Because they saved their countrey deir
Frae Englishmen ! Nane were sae bauld
While Johnie lived on the Border syde,
Nane of them durst cum neir his hauld.

SUPPLEMENT

TO THE

BALLAD OF JOHNIE ARMSTRANG.

The editor believes his readers will not be displeased to see a Bond of Manrent, granted by this Border freebooter to the Scottish warden of the West Marches, in return for the gift of a feudal casualty of certain lands particularized. It is extracted from *Syme's Collection of Old Writings, MS., penes* Dr Robert Anderson, of Edinburgh.

BOND OF MANRENT.

Be it kend till all men, be thir present letters, me, Johne Armistrang, for to be bound and oblist, and be the tenor of thir present letters, and faith and trewth in my body, lelie and trewlie, bindis and oblissis me and myn airis, to ane nobil and michtie lord, Robert Lord Maxwell, wardane of the West Marches of Scotland, that, forasmikle as my said lord has given and grantit to me, and mine airis perpetuallie, the nonentries of all and hail the lands underwritten, that is to say, the landis of Dalbetht, Shield, Dalblane, Stapil-Gortown, Langholme, and * * * * * *, with their pertindis, lyand in the lordship of Eskdale, as his gift, maid to me, therupon beris in the self: and that for all the tyme of the nonentres of the samyn. Their-

for, I, the said Johne Armistrang, bindis and oblissis me and myne airis, in manrent and service to the said Robert Lord Maxwell, and his airis, for evermair, first and befor all uthirs, myne allegiance to our soverane lord, the King, allanerly except; and to be trewe, gude, and lele servant to my said lord, and be ready to do him service, baith in pece and weir, with all my kyn, friends, and servants, that I may and dowe to raise, and be and to my said lord's airis for evermair. And sall take his true and plane part in all maner of actions at myn outer power, and sall nouther wit, hear, nor se my said lordis skaith, lak, nor dishonestie, but we sall stop and lett the samyn, and geif we dowe not lett the samyn, we sall warn him thereof in all possible haist; and geif it happenis me, the said Johne Armistrang, or myne airis, to fail in our said service and manrent, any maner of way, to our said lord (as God forbid we do,) than, and in that caise, the gift and nonentres maid be him to us, of the said landis of Dalbeatt, Schield, Dalblane, Stapil-Gortown, Langholme, and * * * * * *, with the pertinentis, to be of no avale, force, nor effect; but the said lord and his airis to have free regress and ingress to the nonentres of the samyn, but ony pley or impediment. To the keeping and fulfilling of all and sundry the premisses, in form above written, I bind and obliss me and my airis foresaids, to the said lord and his airis for evermare, be the faithis treuthis in our bodies, but fraud or gile. In witness of the whilk thing, to thir letters of manrent subscrievit, with my hand at the pen, my sele is hangin, at Dumfries, the second day of November, the yeir of God, Jaiv and XXV. yeiris.

JOHNE ARMISTRANG, with my hand at the pen.

The lands, here mentioned, were the possessions of Armstrong himself, the investitures of which not having been regularly renewed, the feudal casualty of non-entry had been incurred by the vassal. The brother of Johnie Armstrang is said to have founded, or rather repaired, Langholm castle, before

which, as mentioned in the ballad, verse 5th, they "ran their "horse," and "brak their spears," in the exercise of Border chivalry.—*Account of the Parish of Langholm, apud Macfarlane's MSS.* The lands of Langholm and Staplegorton continued in Armstrong's family; for there is in the same MS. collection a similar bond of manrent, granted by "Cristofer "Armstrang, calit *Johne's Pope*," on 24th January, 1557, to Lord Johne Lord Maxwell, and to Sir Johne Maxwell of Terreglis, Knight, his tutor and governor, in return for the gift "of the males of all and haill the landis whilk are conteint "in ane bond made by umquhile Johne Armistrang, my fa-"ther, to umquhile Robert, Lord Maxwell, gudshore to the "said Johne, now Lord Maxwell." It would therefore appear, that the bond of manrent, granted by John Armstrong, had been the price of his release from the feudal penalty arising from his having neglected to procure a regular investiture from his superior. As Johnie only touched the pen, it appears that he could not write.

Christopher Armstrong, above mentioned, is the person alluded to in the conclusion of the ballad—"God be with thee, "Kirsty my son." He was the father, or grandfather, of William Armstrong, called *Christie's Will*, a renowned freebooter, some of whose exploits the reader will find recorded in the third volume of this work.

Mr Ellis of Otterbourne has kindly pointed out the following instance of the ferocity of the Armstrongs, which occurs in the confession of one John Weir, a prisoner in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, under sentence of death, in 1700: "In May "1700, John Weire went to Grandee Knows, (near Halt-"whistle, in Northumberland,) to the mother of the four "brethren the Armstrongs, which Armstrongs, and the afore-"said Burley, did cut the tongue and ear out of William Tur-"ner, for informing that they were bad persons, which Tur-"ner wrote with his blood that they had used him so."—Weire also mentions one Thomas Armstrong, called Luck i' the Bagg, who lived in Cumberland. The extent of their depredations in horse-stealing seems to have been astonishing.

LORD EWRIE.

Sir Ralph Evre, or Ewrie, or Evers, commemorated in the following lines, was one of the bravest men of a military race. He was son of the first, and father of the second Lord Ewrie; and was himself created a Lord of Parliament during his father's lifetime, in the 35th year of Henry VIII. The ballad is apparently a strain of gratulation upon that event. The poet, or more probably the reciter, has made some confusion in the lineage, by declaring that his hero was "married "upon a Willoughbé." His mother, however, was of that family, and he was "kin to the Nevil and to the "Percy." He was ennobled by Henry, on account of the vigour with which he prosecuted the Border warfare. But after "harrying the Mers and Tiviotdale, "and knocking at Edinburgh gate," Lord Ewrie was slain in the battle of Ancram Moor, fought between him and the Earl of Angus, in 1546. See Note to the *Eve of St John*, vol. iii.

This song was written down by my obliging friend Richard Surtees, Esq. of Mainsforth, from the recitation of Rose Smith, of Bishop Middleham, a woman aged upwards of ninety-one, whose husband's father and two brothers were killed in the affair of 1715.

LORD EWRIE.

Lord Ewrie was as brave a man,
As ever stood in his degree;
The King has sent him a broad letter,
All for his courage and loyalty.*

Lord Ewrie is of a gentill blode,
A knighte's son sooth to say:
He is kin to the Nevill and to the Percy,
And is married upon a Willowbé.

A noble knight him trained upp,
Sir Rafe Bulmer is the man I mean;
At Flodden field, as men do say,
No better capten there was seen.

* Patent letters of nobility.

He led the men of Bishopricke,
When Thomas Ruthal bore the sway:
Tho' the Scottish Habs* were stout and true,
The English bowmen wan that day.

And since he has kepte Berwick upon Tweed,
The town was never better kept, I wot;
He maintained leal and order along the Border,
And still was ready to prick the Scot.

The country then lay in great peace,
And grain and grass was sown and won;
Then plenty fill'd the market crosse,
When Lord Ewrie kept Berwick town.

With our Queen's brother he hath been,
And rode rough shod through Scotland of late;
They have burn'd the Mers and Tiviotdale,
And knocked full loud at Edinburgh gate.

Now the King hath sent him a broad letter,
A Lord of Parliament to be:
It were well if every nobleman
Stood like Lord Ewrie in his degree.

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* *Habs*—contracted for Halbert, or Hobbie, once a common name in Scotland.

NOTES

ON

LORD EWRIE.

Sir Rafe Bulmer is the man I mean.—P. 135. v. 3.

Sir William Bulmer of Brunspeth castle, who is here said to have commanded the troops raised in the Bishopricke, in the battle of Floddenfield, was descended from an ancient, and, at one period, noble family. The last who was summoned to Parliament as a Peer of the realm, was Ralph, from 1st till 23d Edward III. Sir William routed the Borderers, who, under the command of Lord Home, made an excursion into Northumberland, previous to the battle of Flodden. He is mentioned in the Metrical History of the Battle, v. 105, &c. In the present ballad, he is erroneously denominated Sir Ralph Bulmer.

With our Queen's brother he hath been.—P. 136. v. 4.

The Earl of Hartford, afterwards Duke of Somerset, and brother of Queen Jane Seymour, made a furious incursion into Scotland, in 1545. See Introduction.

THE LOCHMABEN HARPER.

NOW FIRST PUBLISHED.

The Castle of Lochmaben was formerly a noble building, situated upon a peninsula, projecting into one of the four lakes which are in the neighbourhood of the royal burgh, and is said to have been the residence of Robert Bruce, while Lord of Annandale. Accordingly it was always held to be a royal fortress, the keeping of which, according to the custom of the times, was granted to some powerful lord, with an allotment of lands and fishings, for the defence and maintenance of the place. There is extant a grant, dated 16th March, 1511, to Robert Lauder of the Bass, of the office of Captain and Keeper of Lochmaben Castle, for seven years, with many perquisites. Among others, the " land, stolen frae the King," *is bestowed on the Captain, as his proper lands. What shall we say of a country, where the very ground was the subject of theft?*

O HEARD ye na o' the silly blind Harper,
How lang he lived in Lochmaben town?
And how he wad gang to fair England,
To steal the Lord Warden's Wanton Brown?

But first he gaed to his gude wyfe,
Wi' a' the haste that he could thole—
"This wark," quo he, "will ne'er gae weel,
"Without a mare that has a foal."

Quo' she—"Thou hast a gude gray mare,
"That can baith lance e'er laigh and hie;
"Sae set thee on the gray mare's back,
"And leave the foal at hame wi' me."

So he is up to England gane,
And even as fast as he may drie;
And when he cam to Carlisle gate,
O whae was there but the Warden, he?

"Come into my hall, thou silly blind Harper,
"And of thy harping let me hear!"
"O by my sooth," quo' the silly blind Harper,
"I wad rather hae stabling for my mare."

The Warden look'd ower his left shoulder,
And said unto his stable groom—
"Gae take the silly blind Harper's mare,
"And tie her beside my Wanton Brown."

Then aye he harped, and aye he carped,*
Till a' the lordlings footed the floor;
But an' the music was sae sweet,
The groom had nae mind o' the stable door.

And aye he harped, and aye he carped,
Till a' the nobles were fast asleep;
Then quickly he took aff his shoon,
And saftly down the stair did creep.

Syne to the stable door he hied,
Wi' tread as light as light could be;
And when he open'd and gaed in,
There he fand thirty steeds and three.

He took a cowt halter† frae his hose,
And o' his purpose he didna fail;
He slipt it ower the Wanton's nose,
And tied it to his gray mare's tale.

He turned them loose at the castle gate,
Ower muir and moss and ilka dale;
And she ne'er let the Wanton bait,
But kept him a-galloping hame to her foal.

---

* *Carped*—Sung. † *Cowt halter*—Colt's halter.

The mare she was right swift o' foot,
  She didna fail to find the way;
For she was at Lochmaben gate,
  A lang three hours before the day.

When she cam to the Harper's door,
  There she gave mony a nicker and sneer—*
"Rise up," quo' the wife, "thou lazy lass;
  "Let in thy master and his mare."

Then up she rose, put on her clothes,
  And keekit through at the lock-hole—
"O! by my sooth," then cried the lass,
  "Our mare has gotten a braw brown foal!"

"Come, haud thy tongue, thou silly wench!
  "The morn's but glancing in your e'e."—
"I'll wad† my hail fee against a groat,
  "He's bigger than e'er our foal will be."

Now all this while, in merry Carlisle,
  The Harper harped to hie and law;
And the fiend‡ dought they do but listen him to,
  Until that the day began to daw.

---

* *Nicker and sneer*—Neigh and snort.

† *Wad my hail fee*—Bet my whole wages.

‡ *Fiend dought they do*—Nothing could they do.

But on the morn, at fair day-light,
When they had ended a' their cheer,
Behold the Wanton Brown was gane,
And eke the poor blind Harper's mare!

"Allace! allace!" quo' the cunning auld Harper,
"And ever allace that I cam here;
"In Scotland I lost a braw cowt foal,
"In England they've stown my gude gray mare!"

"Come! cease thy allacing, thou silly blind Harper,
"And again of thy harping let us hear;
"And weel payd sall thy cowt-foal be,
"And thou sall have a far better mare."

Then aye he harped, and aye he carped;
Sae sweet were the harpings he let them hear!
He was paid for the foal he had never lost,
And three times ower for the gude GRAY MARE.

NOTES

ON

THE LOCHMABEN HARPER.

The only remark which offers itself on the foregoing ballad seems to be, that it is the most modern in which the harp, as a Border instrument of music, is found to occur.

I cannot dismiss the subject of Lochmaben, without noticing an extraordinary and anomalous class of landed proprietors, who dwell in the neighbourhood of that burgh. These are the inhabitants of four small villages, near the ancient castle, called the Four Towns of Lochmaben. They themselves are termed the King's Rentallers, or kindly tenants; under which denomination each of them has a right, of an allodial nature, to a small piece of ground. It is said, that these people are the descendants of Robert Bruce's menials, to whom he assigned, in reward of their faithful service, these portions of land, burdened only with the payment of certain quit-rents, and grassums, or fines, upon the entry of a new tenant. The right of the rentallers is, in essence, a right of property, but, in form, only a right of lease; of which they appeal for the foundation to the rent-rolls of the lord of the castle and manor. This possession, by rental, or by simple entry upon the rent-roll, was anciently a common, and peculiarly entire, species of

property, granted by a chief to his faithful followers; the connection of landlord and tenant being esteemed of a nature too formal to be necessary, where there was honour on the one side, and grātitude upon the other. But, in the case of subjects granting a right of this kind, it was held to expire with the life of the granter, unless his heir chose to renew it; and also upon the death of the rentaller himself, unless especially granted to his heirs, by which term only his first heir was understood. Hence, in modern days, the *kindly tenants* have entirely disappeared from the land. Fortunately for the inhabitants of the Four Towns of Lochmaben, the maxim, that the king can never die, prevents their right of property from reverting to the crown. The Viscount of Stormonth, as royal keeper of the castle, did, indeed, about the beginning of last century, make an attempt to remove the rentallers from their possessions, or at least to procure judgment, finding them obliged to take out feudal investitures, and subject themselves to the casualties thereto annexed. But the rentallers united in their common defence: and, having stated their immemorial possession, together with some favourable clauses in certain old acts of Parliament, enacting, that the King's *poor kindly tenants* of Lochmaben should not be hurt, they finally prevailed in an action before the Court of Session. From the peculiar state of their right of property, it follows, that there is no occasion for feudal investitures, or the formal entry of an heir; and, of course, when they chuse to convey their lands, it is done by a simple deed of conveyance, without charter or sasine.

The kindly tenants of Lochmaben live (or at least lived till lately) much sequestered from their neighbours, marry among themselves, and are distinguished from each other by *soubriquets*, according to the ancient Border custom, repeatedly noticed. You meet among their writings, with such names as *John Out-bye, Will In-bye, White-fish, Red-fish*, &c. They are tenaciously obstinate in defence of their privileges of commonty, &c. which are numerous. Their lands are, in general, neatly inclosed, and well cultivated, and they form a contented and industrious little community.

Many of these particulars are extracted from the MSS. of Mr Syme, writer to the signet. Those who are desirous of more information, may consult *Craig de Feudis*, Lib. II. dig. 9. sec. 24. It is hoped the reader will excuse this digression, though somewhat professional; especially as there can be little doubt that this diminutive republic must soon share the fate of mightier states; for, in consequence of the increase of commerce, lands possessed under this singular tenure, being now often brought to sale, and purchased by the neighbouring proprietors, will, in process of time, be included in their investitures, and the right of rentallage be entirely forgotten.

JAMIE TELFER

OF THE FAIR DODHEAD.

There is another ballad, under the same title as the following, in which nearly the same incidents are narrated, with little difference, except that the honour of rescuing the cattle is attributed to the Liddesdale Elliots, headed by a Chief, there called Martin Elliot of the Preakin Tower, whose son, Simon, is said to have fallen in the action. It is very possible, that both the Teviotdale Scotts, and the Elliots, were engaged in the affair, and that each claimed the honour of the victory.

The editor presumes, that the Willie Scott, here mentioned, must have been a natural son of the Laird of Buccleuch.

It fell about the Martinmas tyde,
When our Border steeds get corn and hay,
The Captain of Bewcastle hath bound him to ryde,
And he's ower to Tividale to drive a prey.

The first ae guide that they met wi'
It was high up in Hardhaughswire;
The second guide that they met wi',
It was laigh down in Borthwick water.

"What tidings, what tidings, my trusty guide?"
"Nae tidings, nae tidings, I hae to thee;
"But gin ye'll gae to the fair Dodhead,
"Mony a cow's cauf I'll let thee see."

And whan they cam to the fair Dodhead,
Right hastily they clam the peel;
They loosed the kye out, ane and a',
And ranshackled* the house right weel.

Now Jamie Telfer's heart was sair,
The tear aye rowing in his e'e;
He pled wi' the Captain to hae his gear,
Or else revenged he wad be.

The Captain turn'd him round and leugh;
Said—"Man, there's naething in thy house,
"But ae auld sword without a sheath,
"That hardly now wad fell a mouse."

* *Ranshackled*—Ransacked.

The sun wasna up, but the moon was down,
It was the gryming* of a new-fa'n snaw,
Jamie Telfer has run ten myles a-foot,
Between the Dodhead and the Stobs's Ha'.

And whan he cam to the fair tower yate,
He shouted loud, and cried weel hie,
Till out bespak auld Gibby Elliot—
"Whae's this that brings the fraye to me?"

"It's I, Jamie Telfer o' the fair Dodhead,
"And a harried man I think I be!
"There's naething left at the fair Dodhead,
"But a waefu' wife and bairnies three."

"Gae seek your succour at Branksome Ha',
"For succour ye'se get nane frae me!
"Gae seek your succour where ye paid black-mail,
"For, man! ye ne'er paid money to me."

Jamie has turn'd him round about,
I wat the tear blinded his e'e—
"I'll ne'er pay mail to Elliot again,
"And the fair Dodhead I'll never see!

---

* *Gryming*—Sprinkling.

"My hounds may a' rin masterless,
"My hawks may fly frae tree to tree,
"My lord may grip my vassal lands,
"For there again maun I never be!"

He has turn'd him to the Tiviot side,
E'en as fast as he could drie,
Till he cam to the Coultart Cleuch,
And there he shouted baith loud and hie.

Then up bespak him auld Jock Grieve—
"Whae's this that brings the fraye to me?"
"It's I, Jamie Telfer o' the fair Dodhead,
"A harried man I trow I be.

"There's naething left in the fair Dodhead,
"But a greeting wife and bairnies three,
"And sax poor ca's* stand in the sta',
"A' routing loud for their minnie."†

"Alack a wae!" quo' auld Jock Grieve,
"Alack! my heart is sair for thee!
"For I was married on the elder sister,
"And you on the youngest of a' the three."

---

* *Ca's*—Calves. † *Minnie*—Mother.

Then he has ta'en out a bonny black,
Was right weel fed wi' corn and hay,
And he's set Jamie Telfer on his back,
To the Catslockhill to tak the fray.

And whan he cam to the Catslockhill,
He shouted loud and cried weel hie,
Till out and spak him William's Wat—
"O whae's this brings the fraye to me?"

"It's I, Jamie Telfer o' the fair Dodhead,
"A harried man I think I be!
"The Captain of Bewcastle has driven my gear;
"For God's sake rise, and succour me!"

"Alas for wae!" quo' William's Wat,
"Alack, for thee my heart is sair!
"I never cam by the fair Dodhead,
"That ever I fand thy basket bare."

He's set his twa sons on coal-black steeds,
Himsel' upon a freckled gray,
And they are on wi' Jamie Telfer,
To Branksome Ha' to tak the fray.

And when they cam to Branksome Ha',
They shouted a' baith loud and hie,
Till up and spak him auld Buccleuch,
Said—" Whae's this brings the fraye to me?"

" It's I, Jamie Telfer o' the fair Dodhead,
" And a harried man I think I be!
" There's nought left in the fair Dodhead,
" But a greeting wife and bairnies three."

" Alack for wae!" quoth the gude auld lord,
" And ever my heart is wae for thee!
" But fye gar cry on Willie, my son,
" And see that he come to me speedilie!

" Gar warn the water, braid and wide,
" Gar warn it sune and hastilie!
" They that winna ride for Telfer's kye,
" Let them never look in the face o' me!

" Warn Wat o' Harden, and his sons,
" Wi' them will Borthwick Water ride;
" Warn Gaudilands, and Allanhaugh,
" And Gilmanscleugh, and Commonside.

"Ride by the gate at Priesthaughswire,
"And warn the Curors o' the Lee;
"As ye cum down the Hermitage Slack,
"Warn doughty Willie o' Gorrinberry."

The Scots they rade, the Scots they ran,
Sae starkly and sae steadilie!
And aye the ower-word o' the thrang
Was—"Rise for Branksome readilie!"

The gear was driven the Frostylee up,
Frae the Frostylee unto the plain,
Whan Willie has look'd his men before,
And saw the kye right fast driving.

"Whae drives thir kye?" can Willie say,
"To make an outspeckle* o' me?"
"It's I, the Captain o' Bewcastle, Willie;
"I winna layne my name for thee."

"O will ye let Telfer's kye gae back,
"Or will ye do aught for regard o' me?
"Or, by the faith of my body," quo' Willie Scott,
"I'se ware my dame's cauf's skin on thee!"

* *Outspeckle*—Laughing-stock.

"I winna let the kye gae back,
"Neither for thy love, nor yet thy fear;
"But I will drive Jamie Telfer's kye,
"In spite of every Scot that's here."

"Set on them, lads!" quo' Willie than;
"Fye, lads, set on them cruellie!
"For ere they win to the Ritterford,
"Mony a toom* saddle there sall be!"

Then till't they gaed, wi' heart and hand;
The blows fell thick as bickering hail;
And mony a horse ran masterless,
And mony a comely cheek was pale.

But Willie was stricken ower the head,
And thro' the knapscap† the sword has gane;
And Harden grat for very rage,
Whan Willie on the grund lay slane.

But he's tane aff his gude steel cap,
And thrice he's wav'd it in the air—
The Dinlay‡ snaw was ne'er mair white
Nor the lyart locks of Harden's hair.

---

* *Toom*—Empty. † *Knapscap*—Headpiece.
‡ *The Dinlay*—is a mountain in Liddesdale.

" Revenge ! revenge !" auld Wat can cry ;
" Fye, lads, lay on them cruellie !
" We'll ne'er see Tiviotside again,
" Or Willie's death revenged sall be."

O mony a horse ran masterless,
The splinter'd lances flew on hie ;
But or they wan to the Kershope ford,
The Scots had gotten the victory.

John o' Brigham there was slane,
And John o' Barlow, as I hear say ;
And thirty mae o' the Captain's men
Lay bleeding on the grund that day.

The Captain was run thro' the thick of the thigh,
And broken was his right leg bane ;
If he had lived this hundred year,
He had never been loved by woman again.

" Hae back thy kye !" the Captain said ;
" Dear kye, I trow, to some they be !
" For gin I suld live a hundred years,
" There will ne'er fair lady smile on me."

Then word is gane to the Captain's bride,
Even in the bower where that she lay,
That her lord was prisoner in enemy's land,
Since into Tividale he had led the way.

" I wad lourd * have had a winding-sheet,
" And helped to put it ower his head,
" Ere he had been disgraced by the Border Scot,
" Whan he ower Liddel his men did lead !"

There was a wild gallant amang us a',
His name was Watty wi' the Wudspurs, †
Cried—" On for his house in Stanegirthside,
" If ony man will ride with us !"

When they came to the Stanegirthside,
They dang wi' trees, and burst the door ;
They loosed out a' the Captain's kye,
And set them forth our lads before.

There was an auld wyfe ayont the fire,
A wee bit o' the Captain's kin—
" Whae dar loose out the Captain's kye,
" Or answer to him and his men ?"

---

* *Lourd*—Rather. † *Wudspurs*—Hotspur, or Madspur.

" It's I, Watty Wudspurs, loose the kye !
" I winna layne my name frae thee !
" And I will loose out the Captain's kye,
" In scorn of a' his men and he."

Whan they cam to the fair Dodhead,
They were a wellcum sight to see !
For instead of his ain ten milk kye,
Jamie Telfer has gotten thirty and three.

And he has paid the rescue shot,
Baith wi' goud, and white monie ;
And at the burial o' Willie Scott,
I wat was mony a weeping e'e.

NOTES

ON

JAMIE TELFER OF THE FAIR DODHEAD.

It was high up in Hardhaughswire.—P. 147. v. 1.
Hardhaughswire is the pass from Liddesdale to the head of Tiviotdale.

It was laigh down in Borthwick water.—P. 147. v. 1.
Borthwick water is a stream, which falls into the Tiviot three miles above Hawick.

But gin ye'll gae to the fair Dodhead.—P. 147. v. 2.
The Dodhead, in Selkirkshire, near Singlee, where there are still the vestiges of an old tower.

Now Jamie Telfer's heart was sair.—P. 147. v. 4.
There is still a family of Telfers, residing near Langholm, who pretend to derive their descent from the Telfers of the Dodhead.

Between the Dodhead and the Stobs's Ha'.—P. 148. v. 1.
Stobs Hall, upon Slitterick. Jamie Telfer made his first

application here, because he seems to have paid the proprietor of the castle *black-mail*, or protection money.

Gae seek your succour at Branksome Ha.'—P. 148. v. 4.
The ancient family-seat of the Lairds of Buccleuch, near Hawick.

Till he cam to the Coultart Cleuch.—P. 149. v. 2.
The Coultart Cleuch is nearly opposite to Carlinrig, on the road between Hawick and Mosspaul.

Gar warn the water, braid and wide.—P. 151. v. 4.
The water, in the mountainous districts of Scotland, is often used to express the banks of the river, which are the only inhabitable parts of the country. *To raise the water*, therefore, was to alarm those who lived along its side.

Warn Wat o' Harden, and his sons, &c.—P. 151. v. 5.
The estates, mentioned in this verse, belonged to families of the name of Scott, residing upon the waters of Borthwick and Teviot, near the castle of their Chief.

Ride by the gate at Priesthaughswire.—P. 152. v. 1.
The pursuers seem to have taken the road through the hills of Liddesdale, in order to collect forces, and intercept the forayers at the passage of the Liddel, on their return to Bewcastle. The Ritterford and Kershope-ford, after-mentioned, are noted fords on the river Liddel.

The gear was driven the Frostylee up.—P. 152. v. 3.
The Frostylee is a brook, which joins the Teviot, near Mosspaul.

And Harden grat for very rage.—P. 153. v. 4.
Of this Border laird, commonly called *Auld Wat of Harden*, tradition has preserved many anecdotes. He was married to

Mary Scott, celebrated in song by the title of the Flower of Yarrow. By their marriage-contract, the father-in-law, Philip Scott of Dryhope, was to find Harden in horse meat, and man's meat, at his tower of Dryhope, for a year and a day; but five barons pledge themselves, that, at the expiry of that period, the son-in-law should remove, without attempting to continue in possession by force! A notary public signed for all the parties to the deed, none of whom could write their names. The original is still in the charter-room of the present Mr Scott of Harden. By the Flower of Yarrow the Laird of Harden had six sons; five of whom survived him, and founded the families of Harden (now extinct,) Highchesters, (now representing Harden,) Reaburn, Wool, and Synton. The sixth son was slain at a fray, in a hunting-match, by the Scots of Gilmanscleugh. His brothers flew to arms; but the old laird secured them in the dungeon of his tower, hurried to Edinburgh, stated the crime, and obtained a gift of the lands of the offenders from the crown. He returned to Harden with equal speed, released his sons, and shewed them the charter. "To horse, "lads!" cried the savage warrior, "and let us take possession! "the lands of Gilmanscleuch are well worth a dead son." The property thus obtained continued in the family till the beginning of last century, when it was sold, by John Scott of Harden, to Ann, Duchess of Buccleuch. A beautiful ballad, founded on this tradition, occurs in the Forest Minstrel, a collection of legendary poetry, by Mr James Hogg.

John o' Brigham there was slain.—P. 154. v. 3.

Perhaps one of the ancient family of Brougham, in Cumberland. The editor has used some freedom with the original in the subsequent verse. The account of the Captain's disaster (*teste læva vulnerata*) is rather too *naive* for literal publication.

Cried—"On for his house in Stanegirthside."—P. 155. v. 3.

A house belonging to the Foresters, situated on the English side of the Liddel.

An article in the list of attempts upon England, fouled by the Commissioners at Berwick, in the year 1587, may relate to the subject of the foregoing ballad.

October, 1582.

Thomas Musgrave, deputy of Bewcastle, and the tenants, against { Walter Scott, Laird of Buckluth, and his complices; for } 200 kine and oxen, 300 gait and sheep.

Introduction to the History of Westmoreland and Cumberland, p. 32.

THE

RAID OF THE REIDSWIRE.

THIS poem is published from a copy in the Bannatyne MS. in the hand-writing of the Hon. Mr Carmichael, advocate. It first appeared in *Allan Ramsay's Evergreen*, but some liberties have been taken by him in transcribing it; and, what is altogether unpardonable, the MS., which is itself rather inaccurate, has been interpolated to favour his readings; of which there remain obvious marks.

The skirmish of the Reidswire happened upon the 7th of June, 1575, at one of the meetings, held by the wardens of the Marches, for arrangements necessary upon the Border. Sir John Carmichael, ancestor of the present Earl of Hyndford, was the Scottish warden, and Sir John Forster held that office on the English Middle March. In the course of the day, which was employed as usual in redressing wrongs, a bill, or indictment, at the instance of a Scottish complainer, was fouled (*i. e.* found a true bill) against one Farnstein, a notorious English freebooter. Forster alleged that he

had fled from justice: Carmichael, considering this as a pretext to avoid making compensation for the felony, bade him "play fair!" to which the haughty English warden retorted, by some injurious expressions respecting Carmichael's family, and gave other open signs of resentment. His retinue, chiefly men of Redesdale and Tynedale, the most ferocious of the English Borderers, glad of any pretext for a quarrel, discharged a flight of arrows among the Scots. A warm conflict ensued, in which, Carmichael being beat down and made prisoner, success seemed at first to incline to the English side, till the Tynedale men, throwing themselves too greedily upon the plunder, fell into disorder; and a body of Jedburgh citizens arriving at that instant, the skirmish terminated in a complete victory on the part of the Scots, who took prisoners, the English warden, James Ogle, Cuthbert Collingwood, Francis Russell, son to the Earl of Bedford, and son-in-law to Forster, some of the Fenwicks, and several other Border chiefs. They were sent to the Earl of Morton, then regent, who detained them at Dalkeith for some days, till the heat of their resentment was abated; which prudent precaution prevented a war betwixt the two kingdoms. He then dismissed them with great expressions of regard; and, to satisfy Queen Elizabeth,* sent Carmichael to York,

* Her ambassador at Edinburgh refused to lie in a bed of state which had been provided for him, till this "*odious fact*" had been inquired into.—MURDIN's *State Papers*, vol. II. p. 282.

whence he was soon after honourably dismissed. The field of battle, called the Reidswire, is a part of the Carter Mountain, about ten miles from Jedburgh.—See, for these particulars, GODSCROFT, SPOTTISWOODE, and JOHNSTONE'S *History*.

The editor has adopted the modern spelling of the word Reidswire, to prevent the mistake in pronounciation which might be occasioned by the use of the Scottish *qu* for *w*. The MS. reads *Reidsquair*. *Swair*, or *Swire*, signifies the descent of a hill; and the epithet *Red* is derived from the colour of the heath, or, perhaps, from the Reid-water, which rises at no great distance.

THE

RAID OF THE REIDSWIRE.

The seventh of July, the suith to say,
At the Reidswire the tryst was set;
Our wardens they affix'd the day,
And, as they promised, so they met.
Alas! that day I'll ne'er forgett!
Was sure sae feard, and then sae faine—
They came theare justice for to gett,
Will never green * to come again.

Carmichael was our warden then,
He caused the country to conveen;
And the Laird's Wat, that worthie man,
Brought in that sirname weil beseen: †

---

* *Green*—Long.

† *Weil beseen*—Well appointed. The word occurs in *Morte Arthur*: "And when Sir Percival saw this, he hied them thither,

The Armestranges, that aye hae been
A hardie house, but not a hail,
The Elliots' honours to maintaine,
Brought down the lave o' Liddesdale.

Then Tividale came to wi' speid;
The Sheriffe brought the Douglas down,
Wi' Cranstane, Gladstain, good at need,
Baith Rewle water, and Hawick town.
Beanjeddart bauldly made him boun,
Wi' a' the Trumbills, stronge and stout;
The Rutherfoords, with grit renown,
Convoyed the town of Jedbrugh out.

Of other clans I cannot tell,
Because our warning was not wide—
Be this our folks hae taen the fell;
And planted down palliones† there to bide.
We looked down the other side,
And saw come breasting ower the brae,
Wi' Sir John Forster for their guyde,
Full fifteen hundred men and mae.

" and found the ship covered with silke, more blacker than any beare;
" and therein was a gentlewoman, of great beautie, and she was richly
" *braeene*, that none might be better."

* *Lave*—Remainder. † *Palliones*—Tents.

It grieved him sair that day, I trow,
Wi' Sir George Hearoune of Schipsydehouse:
Because we were not men enow,
They counted us not worth a louse.
Sir George was gentle, meek, and douse,
But *he* was hail and het as fire;
And yet, for all his cracking crouse,*
He rewd the raid o' the Reidswire.

To deal with proud men is but pain;
For either must ye fight or flee,
Or else no answer make again,
But play the best and let them be.
It was na wonder he was hie,
Had Tindaill, Reedsdaill, at his hand,
Wi' Cukdaill, Gladsdaill on the lee,
And Helsrime, and Northumberland.

Yett was our meeting meek eneugh,
Begun wi' merriment and mowes,
And at the brae, aboon the heugh,
The clark sat down to call the rowes.†
And some for kyne, and some for ewes,
Call'd in of Dandrie, Hob, and Jock—
We saw, come marching ower the knows,
Five hundred Fennicks in a flock,—

* *Cracking crouse*—Talking big. † *Rowes*—Rolls.

With jack and speir, and bows all bent,
And warlike weapons at their will:
Although we were na well content,
Yet, by my troth, we fear'd no ill.
Some gaed to drink, and some stude still,
And some to cards and dice them sped;
Till on ane Farnstein they fyled a bill,
And he was fugitive and fled.

Carmichael bade them speik out plainlie,
And cloke no cause for ill nor good;
The other, answering him as vainlie,
Began to reckon kin and blood:
He raise, and raxed* him where he stood,
And bade him match him with his marrows;
Then Tindaill heard them reasun rude,
And they loot off a flight of arrows.

Then was there nought but bow and speir,
And every man pull'd out a brand;
"A Schaftan and a Fenwick" thare:
Gude Symington was slain frae hand.
The Scotsmen cried on other to stand,
Frae time they saw John Robson slain—
What should they cry? the King's command
Could cause no cowards turn again.

* *Raxed him*—Stretched himself up.

Up rose the laird to red the cumber,*
Which would not be for all his boast;—
What could we doe with sic a number?
Fyve thousand men into a host.
Then Henry Purdie proved his cost,†
And very narrowlie had mischief'd him,
And there we had our warden lost,
Wert not the grit God he relieved him.

Another throw the breiks him bair,
Whill flatlies to the ground he fell:
Than thought I weel we had lost him there,
Into my stomack it struck a knell!
Yet up he raise, the treuth to tell ye,
And laid about him dints full dour;
His horsemen they raid sturdily,
And stude about him in the stoure.

Then raise‡ the slogan with ane shout—
"Fy, Tindaill, to it! Jedbrugh's here!"
I trow he was not half sae stout,
But§ anis his stomach was asteir.

---

* *Red the cumber*—Quell the tumult.
† *Cost*—Signifies loss or risk.
‡ *Raise*—Rose.
§ *But, &c.*—Till once his anger was set up.

With gun and genzie,* bow and spier,
Men might see mony a cracked crown!
But up amang the merchant geir,
They were as busy as we were down.

The swallow tail frae tackles flew,
Five hundreth flain† into a flight,
But we had pestelets enew,
And shot among them as we might.
With help of God the game gade right,
Frae time the foremost of them fell;
Then ower the know without goodnight,
They ran with mony a shout and yell.

But after they had turned backs,
Yet Tindaill men they turn'd again;
And had not been the merchant packs,
There had been mae of Scotland slain.
But, Jesu! if the folks were fain
To put the bussing on their thies;
And so they fled, wi' a' their main,
Down ower the brae, like clogged bees.

---

* *Genzie*—Engine of war
† *Flain*—Arrows; hitherto absurdly printed *slain*.

Sir Francis Russel ta'en was there,
And hurt, as we hear men rehearse;
Proud Wallinton was wounded sair,
Albeit he be a Fennick fierce.
But if ye wald a souldier search,
Among them a' were ta'en that night,
Was nane sae wordie to put in verse,
As Collingwood, that courteous knight.

Young Henry Schafton, he is hurt;
A souldier shot him wi' a bow:
Scotland has cause to mak great sturt,
For laming of the Laird of Mow.
The Laird's Wat did weel, indeed;
His friends stood stoutlie by himsel',
With little Gladstain, gude in need,
For Gretein kend na gude be ill.

The Sheriffe wanted not gude will,
Howbeit he might not fight so fast;
Beanjeddart, Hundlie, and Hunthill,
Three, on they laid weel at the last.
Except the horsemen of the guard,
If I could put men to availe,
None stoutlier stood out for their laird,
Nor did the lads of Liddisdail.

But little harness had we there;
  But auld Badreule had on a jack,
And did right weel, I you declare,
  With all his Trumbills at his back.
  Gude Edderstane was not to lack,
Nor Kirktoun, Newton, noble men!
  Thirs* all the specials I of speake,
By† others that I could not ken.

Who did invent that day of play,
  We need not fear to find him soon;
For Sir John Forster, I dare well say,
  Made us this noisome afternoon.
  Not that I speak preceislie out,
That he supposed it would be perril;
  But pride, and breaking out of feuid,
Garr'd Tindaill lads begin the quarrel.

---

* *Thirs*—These are. † *By*—Besides.

NOTES

ON

THE RAID OF THE REIDSWIRE.

Carmichael was our warden then.—P. 164. v. 2.

Sir John Carmichael was a favourite of the regent Morton, by whom he was appointed warden of the Middle Marches, in preference to the Border Chieftains. With the like policy, the regent married Archibald Carmichael, the warden's brother, to the heiress of Edrom, in the Merse, much contrary to the inclination of the lady and her friends. In like manner, he compelled another heiress, Jane Sleigh, of Cumlege, to marry Archibald, brother to Auchinleck of Auchinleck, one of his dependants. By such arbitrary practices, Morton meant to strengthen his authority on the Borders; instead of which, he hastened his fall, by giving disgust to his kinsman the Earl of Angus, and his other friends, who had been established in the country for ages.—GODSCROFT, vol. II. pp. 238, 246. Sir John Carmichael, the warden, was murdered 16th June, 1600, by a party of Borderers, at a place called Raesknows, near Lochmaben, whither he was going to hold a court of justice. Two of the ringleaders in the slaughter, Thomas Armstrong, called *Ringan's Tam*, and Adam Scott, called the *Pecket*, were tried at Edinburgh, at the instance of Carmichael of Edrom. They were condemned to have their right hands struck off,

thereafter to be hanged, and their bodies gibbetted on the Borough Moor; which sentence was executed 14th November, 1601. "This *Pecket*, (saith Birrel in his *Diary*,) was "ane of the most notalrie thieffes that ever raid;" he calls his name Steill, which appears, from the record, to be a mistake. Four years afterwards, an Armstrong, called *Sandy of Rowanburn*, and several others of that tribe, were executed for this and other excesses.—*Books of Adjournal of these dates.*

And the Laird's Wat, that worthie man.—P. 164. v. 2.

The Chief who led out the sirname of Scott upon this occasion, was (saith Satchells) Walter Scott of Ancrum, a natural son of Walter of Buccleuch. The Laird of Buccleuch was then a minor. The ballad seems to have been popular in Satchells' days, for he quotes it literally. He must, however, have been mistaken in this particular; for the family of Scott of Ancrum, in all our books of genealogy, deduce their descent from the Scotts of Balwearie, in Fife, whom they represent. The first of this family, settled in Roxburghshire, is stated in *Douglas' Baronage* to have been Patrick Scott, who purchased the lands of Ancrum in the reign of James VI. He therefore could not be the *Laird's Wat* of the ballad; indeed, from the list of Border families in 1597, Kerr appears to have been proprietor of Ancrum at the date of the ballad. It is plainly written in the MS. the *Laird's Wat*, i. e. the Laird's son Wat; notwithstanding which, it has always hitherto been printed the *Laird Wat*. If Douglas be accurate in his genealogy, the person meant must be the young Laird of Buccleuch, afterwards distinguished for his surprise of Carlisle Castle.—See *Kinmont Willie*. I am the more confirmed in this opinion, because Kerr of Ancrum was at this time a fugitive, for slaying one of the Rutherfords, and the tower of Ancrum given in keeping to the Turnbulls, his hereditary enemies. His mother, however, a daughter of Home of Wedderburn, contrived to turn out the Turnbulls, and possess herself of the place by surprise.—GODSCROFT, vol. II. p. 250.

The Armestranges that aye hae been.—P. 165. v. 1.

This clan are here mentioned as not being hail, or whole, because they were outlawed or broken men. Indeed, many of them had become Englishmen, as the phrase then went. Accordingly, we find, from Patten, that forty of them, under the Laird of Mangertoun, joined Somerset, upon his expedition into Scotland.—PATTEN, *in Dalyell's Fragments*, p. 1. There was an old alliance betwixt the Elliots and Armstrongs, here alluded to. For the enterprizes of the Armstrongs, against their native country, when under English assurance, see MURDIN'S *State Papers*, vol. I. p. 43. From which it appears, that, by command of Sir Ralph Evers, this clan ravaged almost the whole West Border of Scotland.

The Sheriffe brought the Douglas down.—P. 165. v. 2.

Douglas of Cavers, hereditary Sheriff of Teviotdale, descended from Black Archibald, who carried the standard of his father, the Earl of Douglas, at the battle of Otterbourne.—*See the Ballad of that name.*

Wi' Cranstane, Gladstane, good at need.—P. 165. v. 2.

Cranstoun of that ilk, ancestor to Lord Cranstoun; and Gladstain of Gladstains.

Wi' a' the Trumbills, stronge and stout;
The Rutherfoords with grit renown.—P. 165. v. 2.

These were ancient and powerful Border clans, residing chiefly upon the river Jed. Hence, they naturally convoyed the town of Jedburgh out. Although notorious freebooters, they were specially patronized by Morton, who, by their means, endeavoured to counterpoise the power of Buccleuch and Ferniherst, during the civil wars attached to the Queen's faction.

The following fragment of an old ballad is quoted in a letter from an aged gentleman of this name, residing at New-York, to a friend in Scotland:

" Bauld Rutherfurd, he was fow stout,
" Wi' a' his aine sons him round about;
" He led the town o' Jedburgh out,
" All bravely fought that day."

Wi' Sir John Foster for their guyde.—P. 165. v. 3.

Sir John Foster, or, more properly, Forrester, of Balmbrough Abbey, warden of the Middle Marches in 1561, was deputy-governor of Berwick, and governor of Balmbrough Castle. He made a great figure on the Borders, and is said, on his monument at Balmborough church, to have possessed the office of warden of the Mid Marches for thirty-seven years; indeed, if we can trust his successor, Carey, he retained the situation until he became rather unfit for its active duties. His family ended in the unfortunate Thomas Foster, one of the generals of the Northumbrian insurgents in 1715; and the estate, being forfeited, was purchased by his uncle, Lord Crewe, and devised for the support of his magnificent charity.

Wi' Sir George Hearoune of Schipsydehouse.—P. 166. v. 1.

George Heron Miles of Chipchase castle, probably the same who was slain at the Reidswair, was Sheriff of Northumberland, 13th Elizabeth.

Had Tindaill, Reedsdaill at his hand.—P. 166. v. 2.

These are districts, or dales, on the English Border.

And Hebsrime.—P. 166. v. 2.

Mr Ellis suggests, with great probability, that this is a mistake, not for Hebburne, as the editor stated in an earlier edition, but for Hexham, which, with its territory, formed a county independent of Northumberland, with which it is here ranked.

Five hundred Fennicks in a flock.—P. 166. v. 3.

The Fenwicks; a powerful and numerous Northumberland clan.—The original seat of this ancient family was at Fen-

wick-tower, long since ruinous; but, from the time of Henry IV., their principal mansion was Wallington. Sir John Fenwick, attainted and executed for treason in the reign of William III., represented the chieftain of this clan.

Then raise the slogan with ane shout.—P. 168. v. 3.

The gathering word, peculiar to a certain name, or set of people, was termed *slogan* or *slughorn*, and was always repeated at an onset, as well as on many other occasions, as appears from the following passage of an old author, whom this custom seems to have offended—for he complains,

"That whereas alweys, both in al tounes of war, and in al "campes of armies, quietnes and stilnes without nois is prin- "cipally in the night, after the watch is set, observed (I need "not reason why.) Yet, our northern prikkers, the Border- "ers, notwithstanding, with great enormitie, (as thought me) "and not unlyke (to be playn) unto a masterless hounde "houyling in a hie way, when he hath lost him he wayted "upon, sum hoopyng, sum whistelyng, and most with crying, "a *Berwyke!* a *Berwyke!* a *Fenwyke!* a *Fenwyke!* a *Bul-* "*mer!* a *Bulmer!* or so ootherwise as theyr captein's names "wear, never linnde those troublous and daungerous noyses "all the night long. They sayd they did it to fynd out their "captein and fellowes; but if the soldiours of our oother "countries and sheres had used the same maner, in that case "we shoold have oftymes had the state of our campe more "lyke the outrage of a dissolute huntyng, than the quiet of "a wel ordred army."—PATTEN'S *Account of Somerset's Expedition*, p. 76.—*Apud* DALYELL'S *Fragments*.

Honest Patten proceeds, with great prolixity, to prove, that this was a custom more honoured in the breach than in the observance; and, like Fluellen, declares, "that such idle pribble "prabbles were contrary to all the good customs and disciplines "of war." Nevertheless, the custom of crying the *slogan*, or *ensenzie*, is often alluded to in all our ancient histories and poems. It was usually the name of the clan, or place of rendezvous, or leader. In 1335, the English, led by Thomas of

Rosslyne, and William Moubray, assaulted Aberdeen. The former was mortally wounded in the onset; and, as his followers were pressing forward, shouting *Rosslyne! Rosslyne!* "Cry *Moubray,*" said the expiring chieftain; "*Rosslyne* is "gone!" The Highland clans had also their appropriate slogans. The Macdonalds cried *Frich,* (heather;) the Macphersons, *Craig-Ubh;* the Grants, *Craig-Elachie;* and the Macfarlanes, *Loch-Sloy.*

The swallow taill frae tackles flew.—P. 169. v. 2.

The Scots, on this occasion, seem to have had chiefly fire-arms; the English retaining still their partiality for their ancient weapon, the long-bow. It also appears, by a letter from the Duke of Norfolk to Cecil, that the English Borderers were unskilful in fire-arms, or, as he says, "our countrymen be not "so commyng with shots as I woolde wishe."—See MURDEN'S *State Papers,* vol. I. p. 319.

And had not been the merchant packs.—P. 169. v. 3.

The ballad-maker here ascribes the victory to the real cause; for the English Borderers, dispersing to plunder the merchandise, gave the opposite party time to recover from their surprise. It seems to have been usual for travelling merchants to attend Border meetings, although one would have thought the kind of company, usually assembled there, might have deterred them.

Sir Francis Russel ta'en was there.—P. 170. v. 1.

This gentleman was son to the Earl of Bedford, and warden of the East Marches. He was, at this time, chamberlain of Berwick. He was afterwards killed in a fray of a similar nature, at a Border meeting between the same Sir John Forster (father-in-law to Russell,) and Thomas Kerr of Fairnihurst, A. D. 1585.

Proud Wallinton was wounded sair.—P. 170. v. 1.

Fenwick of Wallington, a powerful Northumbrian chief.

As Collingwood, that courteous knight.—P. 170. v. 1.

Sir Cuthbert Collingwood of Esalington, Sheriff of Northumberland, the 10th and 20th of Elizabeth. The late gallant Admiral Collingwood was of this family.

Besides these gentlemen, James Ogle, and many other Northumbrians of note, were made prisoners. Sir George Heron, of Chipchase and Ford, was slain, to the great regret of both parties, being a man highly esteemed by the Scots, as well as the English. When the prisoners were brought to Morton, at Dalkeith, and, among other presents, received from him some Scottish falcons, one of his train observed, that the English were nobly treated, since they got live *hawks* for dead *herons*.—GODSCROFT.

Young Henry Schafton.—P. 170. v. 2.

The name of this gentleman does not appear in the MS. in the Advocates' Library, but is restored from a copy in single sheet, printed early in the last century.

The Shaftoes are an ancient family settled at Bavington, in Northumberland, since the time of Edward I.; of which Sir Cuthbert Shaftoe, Sheriff of Northumberland in 1795, is the present representative.

For laiming of the Laird of Mow.—P. 170. v. 2.

An ancient family on the Borders. The lands of Mowe are situated upon the river Bowmont, in Roxburghshire. The family is now represented by William Molle, Esq. of Mains, who has restored the ancient spelling of the name. The Laird of Mowe, here mentioned, was the only gentleman of note killed in the skirmish on the Scottish side.

For Gretein kend na gude be ill.—P. 170. v. 2.

Graden, a family of Kerrs.

Beanjeddart, Huntlie, and Hunthill.—P. 170. v. 3.

Douglas of Beanjeddart, an ancient branch of the house of

Cavers, possessing property near the junction of the Jed and Teviot.

Hundlie.—Rutherford of Hundlie, or Hundalee, situated on the Jed above Jedburgh.

Hunthill.—The old tower of Hunthill was situated about a mile above Jedburgh. It was the patrimony of an ancient family of Rutherfords. I suppose the person, here meant, to be the same who is renowned in tradition by the name of the *Cock of Hunthill.* His sons were executed for March-treason, or Border-theft, along with the Lairds of Corbet, Greenhead, and Overton, A. D. 1588.—JOHNSTONE'S *History*, p. 129.

But auld Badreule had on a jack—P. 171. v. 1.

Sir Andrew Turnbull of Bedrule, upon Rule Water. This old laird was so notorious a thief, that the principal gentlemen of the clans of Hume and Kerr refused to sign a bond of alliance, to which he, with the Turnbulls and Rutherfords, was a party; alleging that their proposed allies had stolen Hume of Wedderburn's cattle. The authority of Morton, however, compelled them to digest the affront. The debate (and a curious one it is) may be seen at length in GODSCROFT, vol. I. p. 221. The Rutherfords became more lawless after having been deprived of the countenance of the court, for slaying the nephew of Forman, Archbishop of St Andrews, who had attempted to carry off the heiress of Rutherford. This lady was afterwards married to James Stuart of Traquair, son to James, Earl of Buchan, according to a papal bull, dated 9th November 1504. By this lady a great estate in Tiviotdale fell to the family of Traquair, which was sold by James, Earl of Traquair, Lord-high-treasurer of Scotland, in consequence of the pecuniary difficulties to which he was reduced, by his loyal exertions in favour of Charles I.

Gude Ederstane was not to lack.—P. 171. v. 1.

An ancient family of Rutherfords; I believe, indeed, the most ancient now extant. The family is represented by John

Rutherford, Esq. of Edgerstane. His seat is about three miles distant from the field of battle.

Nor Kirktown, Newtoun, noble men!—P. 171. v. 1.

The parish of Kirktoun belonged, I believe, about this time, to a branch of the Cavers family; but Kirkton of Stewartfield is mentioned in the list of Border clans in 1597.

Newton.—This is probably Grinyslaw of Little Newton, mentioned in the said roll of Border clans.

In addition to what has been said of the ferocity of the Reedsdale and Tynedale men, may be noticed a bye-law of the incorporated Merchant-adventurers of Newcastle, in 1564, which, alledging evil repute of these districts for thefts and felonies, enacts that no apprentices shall be taken "proceeding "from such leude and wicked progenitors." This law, though in desuetude, subsisted until 1771.

KINMONT WILLIE.

IN the following rude strains, our forefathers commemorated one of the last and most gallant achievements performed upon the Border. The editor, in place of the extract from Bishop Spottiswood's History of the Church, is enabled, from a manuscript of the period, the property of Mr Campbell of Shawfield, to give a more minute detail of this celebrated exploit. The MS. contains many curious articles relating to the Highlands and Borders, arranged in a miscellaneous order. They appear to have been a collection made for the purpose of assisting Archbishop Spottiswood in compiling his work.

Relation of the Maner of surprizeing of the Castell of Cairlell by the Lord of Buccleugh, in the later End of Q. Elizabeth's Reigne. (*Anno* 1596.)

THAIR was, for the tyme warden of the West Marches of England, for the Queene, the Lord Scroope; and for the King, the Lord of Buccleugh had the charge of Liddis-

daill; the deputies of these two officers having met at a day at trewis, as the custome was (when ether the wardens, in regard of thair princes service, or thair ain private distractionnes, could not meitt thameselffis, or the matteris to be redressit was bot ordinarie) the place of thair meiting was at the Dayholme of Kershoup, quhaire a burne divydis England from Scotland, and Liddisdaill from Bewcastle. Thair met for the Lord of Buccleugh, Robert Scot of Hanyng; and for the Lord Scroope, Mr Salkeld, a gentleman of that west wardanrie that was his deputie for the tyme. Thair was mutuall truce taken, and intimation be sound of trumpett, and proclamation in thair majesties names, to the trouppes on both sydes, befoir thair meiting, as the custome was: wherefore the meitings war called dayes of trewis, seing thairthrow pairties on baithe sydes, that otherwise were under deidlie feid and quarrell, did usuallie, in peace and assurance, meit and doe thair busines, one besyde another, and conversed mutuallie and in assurance with such as they had occasion withall; upon the truce taken, the officers or deputies keipt thair meitting, maid mutuall redress of such wrongs as had occurred before that tyme, and sunderit in verie good termes, ether partie returning homewards. Be the way it is to be remembred, that the tenor of such trewis, as usuallie were taken betuixt the wardaines or thair deputies in the princes names, buir, That upon paine of death, presently to be executed, all persones whatsoever that came to these meitings, sould

be saife fra any proceiding or present occasioun from the tyme of meiting of the wardens or thair deputies till the nixt day at the sun rysing; within such space it wes presupposed that every persone that came thair might be returned to thair houses; for other wayes, where at theiff meitings ther war usuallie manie pairties that war under feid and quarrall ane with another, the strongest syde might have taken advantage of the weakness of the other if the grudge had beine betuixt the wardanes; or the strongest of the particular pairties of ether syde might, seing the weiknes of the other there, in his returne homewards towards his hous, fra the great troupe had sunderit, upon any intelligence have taken the occasioun of revenge by putting himselfe in his way. Now this treuce being thus wayes parted, and the busines done by the deputies that they met for, there was one called Williame Armstrong of Kyninmonth, Scottisman and a Borderer, in companie with the Scottish deputie, whom against some of the English had quarell, as was alledgeit, who, being sunderit from that deputie, and ryding homewards, his way coming down Liddisdaill, the which was at that pairt dyvidit from England by a river easilie passable called Liddell, and the Inglish deputie halding his way down the Inglish syde, and within a myle of the utheris way, those who had the quarnell against hym (as afterwards the deputie of England for his excuse did pretend) seing him ryding on his ways bot with three or four in companie, and lyming

for na harme, as that day fell, they brake a chace of more then 200 men out of the English trayne, chases the said Wm. of Kininmonth more than 3 or 4 myles, comes to him, and takes him prisoner, brings him back to the deputie, thinking to doe good service by the seizing of such an offendar, causit brek the truce, himself caried him away with him prisoner to the castell of Cairlell. Whereupon, and seing the samyne was done to the plaine breache of the trewes, the Lord of Buccleugh as the kingis officer, did wreat unto Mr Salkeld, the deputie of England, immediatlie in absence of the Lord Scroop, for the redress thairof. Mr Salkeld by his anser did excuise himselfe, and refer the maitter to the Lord Scroop, warden, who for the tyme was at a hous of his owin in the countrey. The Lord Scroop thereupon was written unto in the samyne sence by the Lord of Buccleugh, to wit, for the setting the prisoner at libertie without condition or bond, seing he was unlawfullie taken, and consequentlie to the tuitch of the king. It was ansered, that he could do nothing ther anent, seing it was so happned, and be reason that the prisoner was such a malefactor, without the privitie of the Quene and counsall of England: so as his anser tending to the delay of the matter, the Lord Buccleugh being loath to informe the Kinge of the maitter least the samyn might have bred some mistaking betueen the princes, he made tryell for Mr Robert Bowis, then resident ambassador for the Queen in Scotland; who, upon his desire and informa-

tioun, wrote furiousalie unto the Lord Scroope for the redress of the maitter, and that the maitter sould come to no farther hearing. Nothing was done nor anserit till a purpose nevertheless, nether upon the Kingis his masters awin instance towards the warden, by the ambassador of England first, and afterwards to the Queen of England by his Majesties selfe. Whereupon the Lord of Buccleugh, being the Kings officer, and fynding his Majesties honour tuitched so apparantlie to the world, he did resolve himselfe to seik the relief of the prisoner by the meanes whereby it was performeit, and that with such foirsight and regaird as could be, that through any rigorous circumstance of the actioun in regaird of the place quhairin he was keipt, the samyne sould breid no greater jarr betuixt the princes then mearlie that which was to grow from the simple relief of a prisoner unlawfullie taken. And for such purpose the Lord of Buccleugh, upon intelligence that the castle of Cairleill, where the prisoner was keept, was surpriseable, and of the meanes by sending some persons of trust to view a postern gaitt, and to measure the height of the wall very closely, he did immediately draw togither 200 horse, assured the place of meeting ane hour before sunset at the toure of Mortune, the which is 10 myles from Cairleill, and upon the water of Sark, in the Debateable Land, quhair he had preparatioun of ledders for scaleing the castle wall, and other instruments of iron for breking through the wall and foirceing of gaites, if neid had

beine. The troupe being assembled at the place, he marcheth forwards, and entreth English ground within six miles of Cairleill, and passeth the water of Esk, quhair the Grahames did inhabite, at the falling of the night. Fra he entred English ground, the order was thus: ther was sent some few horsemen before, all the way, to discover, and they were seconded by 40 or 50 horse in case of any encounter; there was nixt them the ledders carrying two and two upon a horse, and horses carying the other instruments mentionate befoir; and, last of all, himselfe with the reste of the troupe. He marched on in this order, and passeth the water of Eden about two hours before day, at the Stoniebank beneath Cairleill brig, the water being at the tyme, through raines that had fallen, weill thick; he comes to the Sacray, a plaine place under the toune and castell, and halts upon the syde of a litle water or burne that they call Caday. There he makes about 80 men to light from their horses, took the ledders to be set to the wall, and assayes, whilst the sentinels warns the top of the wall above thame, looking over, and crying and speaking ane to another; but that it hapened to fall to be very dark in the hindnight, and a litle mistie. The ledders proved too short thro' the error of thame quha had bene sent to measure the wall, and could not reach the top of the wall; and then order was given to make use of the other instruments that were caried, for opening the wall a litle hard by the posterne, the which being set in the

way, the Lord of Buccleugh seing the matter was likelie to succeed well, and that no discoverie was, did retier himselfe for the suretie of thame that he had set on the castell against the forceing of the toun, and so pat himselfe and the horsemen betwixt the posterne of the castell and the nixt port of the toune, upon the plaine field, to assure the retreat of his awne from the castell againe, wha were sent also in such competent number as was knowne to be able to master thame that was without, upon their entrie; quha did thereupon also correspond upon the first sound of the trumpet, with a cry and noyse, the more to confirme his awne that ware gone upon the castell, and to terrifie both castell and toune by ane imaginatioun of a greater force. They enter the castell, the first of thame single, by the overture that was made, and than brake oppen immediatlie the posterne with such instruments as was fitt to mak passage to the greater number. Thair did occurr to theme at their firste entrie, allannerlie the watchmen or sentinells, and some others after upon the alarm, with the weapons they had. Bot after they were put back and scattered, the rest that was within doors heiring the noyse of the trumpet within, and that the castell was entred, and the noyse of others without, both the Lord Scroope himselfe and his deputie Salkeld being thair with the garrisone and his awin retinew, did keip thamselffis close. The prisoner was taken out of the hous quhair he was keiped, the which was knowne to

the Lord of Buccleugh, his sending a woman upon pretext the day befoir to visite the prisoner, quha reporting quhat place he was keiped in, ther lacked not persones enough thaire that knew all the rewmes thaire, and so went directlie after the rancounter with the watchmen, and sum uther with them that came to the alarum to the place, and brought him furth, and so be the posterne gat away; some other prisoners were brought out that were taken in the rancounter, the which were presentlie returned into the castell againe by the Lord of Buccleugh, and any uther spoylle or butting also hinderit, that not so much as any uther doore that was opin within the castell was entered but that quhair the prisoner was, the which was broken up; nor uther that was shut so much as knocked at, tho' they that enterit might have taken prisoners the warden and all the prisoners that was there, and made prey of the haill guids, seing they war maisters of the castell; such was the reguard of the Lord of Buccleughe, and the strict order that he gave, being present himselfe, that he wald not have any circumstance to fall out in that actioun, in sua farr as it could have bene eschewed, that could have given the least cause of offence either to the King his master or to the late Queen. By which bringing furth of the prisoner the toun and castell was in a great fear and alarum, and was a putting of thameselffis in armes; drums war beatting, belles ringing, and bealles put on the top of the castell to warne the countrie. The day

was brokkin, and so the interpryse having so weill succeidit, the Lord of Buccleugh, after that these [that] went upon the castell, and the prisoner, were reteired and horsed, marched close by the Sarkage againe to the river at the Staniebank; where, upon the alarum in the castell and toune, some were assembled in the farre syde in the passage; and so having to that tyme reteired himselfe close and without any noyse from the castell, he causit sound up his trumpet befoir he tuik the river, it being both mistie and dark, though the day was brokin, to the end both to encourage his owne, and to let thame that war abyding him upon the passage know that he luikit for and was to receave any charge that they sould offer him; quhairupon they made choyse to luik to him and give him way, and not adventure upon so doubtfull ane event with him, wha behoved to reteire him homewards, and not living thaire, if he could choyse after such ane useage of his hoist. So having passed the river, the day began to grow light, and he did reteire himselfe in order throw the Grahames of Esk and Levin, and came bak to Scottis ground at about two hours after sunrysing, and so homewards."

The consequences of the enterprise are thus mentioned by Spottiswoode :—

"This fell out the 13th of April, 1596. The Queen "of England, having notice sent her of what was done, "stormed not a little. One of her chief castles surpri- "sed, a prisoner taken forth of the hands of the war-

" den, and carried away, so far within England, she " esteemed a great affront. The lieger, Mr Bowes, in " a frequent convention kept at Edinburgh, the 22d of " May, did, as he was charged, in a long oration, ag- " gravate the heinousness of the fact, concluding that " peace could not longer continue betwixt the two realms, " unless Bacleuch were delivered in England, to be pu- " nished at the Queen's pleasure. Bacleuch compear- " ing, and charged with the fact, made answer,—'That " he went not into England with intention to assault " any of the Queen's houses, or to do wrong to any of " her subjects, but only to relieve a subject of Scotland " unlawfully taken, and more unlawfully detained; that, " in the time of a general assurance, in a day of truce, " he was taken prisoner against all order, neither did " he attempt his relief till redress was refused; and that " he had carried the business in such a moderate man- " ner, as no hostility was committed, nor the least wrong " offered to any within the castle; yet was he content, " according to the ancient treaties observed betwixt the " two realms, when as mutual injuries were alleged, to " be tried by the commissioners that it should please " their Majesties to appoint, and submit himself to that " which they should decern.'—The convention, esteem- " ing the answer reasonable, did acquaint the ambassa- " dor therewith, and offered to send commissioners to " the Borders, with all diligence, to treat with such as " the Queen should be pleased to appoint for her part

"But she, not satisfied with the answer, refused to "appoint any commissioners; whereupon the council "of England did renew the complaint in July thereaf- "ter; and the business being of new agitated, it was "resolved of as before, and that the same should be re- "mitted to the trial of commissioners: the King pro- "testing, 'that he might, with great reason, crave the "delivery of Lord Scroope, for the injury committed "by his deputy, it being less favourable to take a pri- "soner, than relieve him that is unlawfully taken; yet, "for the continuing of peace, he would forbear to do "it, and omit nothing, on his part, that could be desi- "red, either in equity, or by the laws of friendship.'— "The Borders, in the meantime, making daily incur- "sions one upon another, filled all their parts with "trouble, the English being continually put to the "worse; neither were they made quiet, till, for satis- "fying the Queen, the Laird of Bacleuch was first com- "mitted in St Andrews, and afterwards entered in Eng- "land, where he remained not long."*—SPOTTISWOOD'S *History of the Church of Scotland*, pp. 414, 416, *Ed.* 1677.

Scott of Satchells, in the extraordinary poetical performance, which he has been pleased to entitle *A His-*

* The Bishop is, in this last particular, rather inaccurate. Buccleuch was indeed delivered into England, but this was done in consequence of the judgment of commissioners of both nations, who met at Berwick this same year. And his delivery took place, less on account of the raid of Carlisle, than of a second exploit of the same nature, to be noticed hereafter.

tory of the Name of Scott (published 1688,) dwells, with great pleasure, upon this gallant achievement, at which, it would seem, his father had been present. He also mentions, that the Laird of Buccleuch employed the services of the younger sons and brothers only of his clan, lest the name should have been weakened by the landed men incurring forfeiture. But he adds, that three gentlemen of estate insisted upon attending their chief, notwithstanding this prohibition. These were, the Lairds of Harden and Commonside, and Sir Gilbert Elliot of the Stobbs, a relation of the Laird of Buccleuch, and ancestor to the present Sir William Elliot, Bart. In many things Satchells agrees with the ballads current in his time, from which, in all probability, he derived most of his information as to past events, and from which he sometimes pirates whole verses, as noticed in the annotations upon the *Raid of the Reidswire*. In the present instance, he mentions the prisoner's *large spurs*, (alluding to the fetters,) and some other little incidents noticed in the ballad, which was, therefore, probably well known in his days.

All contemporary historians unite in extolling the deed itself as the most daring and well-conducted achievement of that age. "*Audax facinus cum modica* "*manu, in urbe mœnibus et multitudine oppidanorum mu-* "*nita, et callidæ audaciæ, vix ullo obsisti modo potuit.*"— JOHNSTONI *Historia, Ed. Amstœl. p.* 215. Birrel, in his gossipping way, says, the exploit was performed "with "shouting and crying, and sound of trumpet, puttand

" the said toun and countrie in sic ane fray, that the " like of sic ane wassaladge was nevir done since the " memory of man, no not in Wallace dayis."—BIRREL'S *Diary*, April 6, 1696. This good old citizen of Edinburgh also mentions another incident, which I think proper to insert here, both as relating to the personages mentioned in the following ballad, and as tending to shew the light in which the men of the Border were regarded, even at this late period, by their fellow subjects. The author is talking of the King's return to Edinburgh, after the disgrace which he had sustained there, during the riot excited by the seditious ministers, on December 17, 1596. Proclamation had been made, that the Earl of Mar should keep the West Port, Lord Seaton the Nether-Bow, and Buccleuch, with sundry others, the High Gate. " Upon the morn, at this time, " and befoir this day, thair wes ane grate rumour and " word among the tounesmen, that the Kinges M sould " send in *Will Kinmond, the common thieffe*, and so many " southland men as would spulye the toun of Edin- " burgh. Upon the whilk, the haill merchants tuik " thair haill gear out of their buiths or chops, and " transportit the same to the strongest hous that wes " in the toune, and remained in the said hous, thair, " with thameselfis, thair servants, and luiking for no- " thing bot that thai sould have been all spulyeit. Sic " lyke the hail craftsmen and comons convenit themsel- " fis, thair best guidis, as it wer ten or twelve house- " holdes in ane, whilk wes the strongest hous, and might

"be best kepit from spuilyeing or burning, with hagbut, "pistolet, and other sic armour, as might best defend "thameselfis. Judge, gentill reader, giff this was play-"ing." The fear of the Borderers being thus before the eyes of the contumacious citizens of Edinburgh, James obtained a quiet hearing for one of his favourite orisones, or harangues, and was finally enabled to prescribe terms to his fanatic metropolis. Good discipline was, however, maintained by the chiefs upon this occasion; although the fears of the inhabitants were but too well grounded, considering what had happened in Stirling ten years before, when the Earl of Angus, attended by Home, Buccleuch, and other Border chieftains, marched thither to remove the Earl of Arran from the King's councils: the town was miserably pillaged by the Borderers, particularly by a party of Armstrongs, under this very Kinmont Willie, who not only made prey of horses and cattle, but even of the very iron grating of the windows. —JOHNSTONI *Historia*, p. 102, *Ed. Amstæl.*—MOYSE'S *Memoirs*, p. 100.

The renown of Kinmont Willie is not surprising, since, in 1587, the apprehending that freebooter, and Robert Maxwell, natural brother to the Lord Maxwell, was the main, but unaccomplished, object of a royal expedition to Dumfries. "*Rex .... Robertum Maxvallium ....* "*et Gulielmum Armstrangum Kinmonthum latrociniis, in-*"*testinis externisque famosum, conquiri jubet. Missi e* "*ministerio regio qui per aspera loca vitabundos perse-*"*quuntur, magnoque incommodo afficiunt. At illi latebris*

" aut silvis se eripiunt."—JOHNSTONI *Historia*, p. 138. About this time, it is possible that Kinmont Willie may have held some connection with the Maxwells, though afterwards a retainer to Buccleuch, the enemy of that tribe. At least, the editor finds, that, in a bond of manrent, granted by Simon Elliot of Whytheuch, in Liddesdale, to Lord Maxwell, styled therein Earl of Morton, dated February 28, 1599, William Armstrang, called *Will of Kinmond*, appears as a witness.—SYME's *MSS.* According to Satchells, this freebooter was descended of Johnie Armstrong of Gilnockie (See *Ballad*, p. 107 *of this volume.*)—*Est in juvencis, est et in equis, patrum virtus.* In fact, his rapacity made his very name proverbial. Mas James Melvine, in urging reasons against subscribing the act of supremacy, in 1584, asks ironically, " Who shall take order with vice and " wickedness? The court and bishops? As well as " Martine Elliot, and Will of Kinmont, with stealing " upon the Borders!"—CALDERWOOD, p. 168.

This affair of Kinmont Willie was not the only occasion upon which the undaunted keeper of Liddesdale gave offence to the haughty Elizabeth. For, even before this business was settled, certain of the English Borderers having invaded Liddesdale, and wasted the country, the Laird of Buccleuch retaliated the injury by a *raid* into England, in which he not only brought off much spoil, but apprehended thirty-six of the Tynedale thieves, all of whom he put to death.—SPOTTISWOODE,

p. 450. How highly the Queen of England's resentment blazed on this occasion, may be judged from the preface to her letter to Bowes, then her ambassador in Scotland. "I wonder how base-minded that King "thinks me, that, with patience, I can digest this dis-"honourable *******. Let him know, therefore, "that I will have satisfaction, or else ********." These broken words of ire are inserted betwixt the subscription and the address of the letter.—RYMER, vol. XVI. p. 318. Indeed, so deadly was the resentment of the English, on account of the affronts put upon them by this formidable chieftain, that there seems at one time to have been a plan formed (not, as was alleged, without Elizabeth's privity,) to assassinate Buccleuch.—RYMER, vol. XVI. p. 107. The matter was at length arranged by the commissioners of both nations in Berwick, by whom it was agreed that delinquents should be delivered up on both sides, and that the chiefs themselves should enter into ward in the opposite countries till these were given up, and pledges granted for the future maintenance of the quiet of the Borders. Buccleuch and Sir Robert Ker of Cessford (ancestor of the Duke of Roxburgh,) appear to have struggled hard against complying with this regulation; so much so, that it required all James's authority to bring to order these two powerful chiefs.—RYMER, vol. XVI. p. 322.—SPOTTISWOODE, p. 448.—CAREY'S *Memoirs*, p. 131, *et sequen.*—When at length they appeared, for the purpose of delivering themselves up to be warded at Berwick, an incident took place,

which nearly occasioned a revival of the deadly feud which formerly subsisted between the Scots and the Kers. Buccleuch had chosen, for his guardian, during his residence in England, Sir William Selby, master of the ordnance at Berwick, and accordingly gave himself into his hands. Sir Robert Ker was about to do the same, when a pistol was discharged by one of his retinue, and the cry of treason was raised. Had not the Earl of Home been present, with a party of Merse men, to preserve order, a dreadful tumult would probably have ensued. As it was, the English commissioners returned in dismay to Berwick, much disposed to wreak their displeasure on Buccleuch; and he, on his side, mortally offended with Cessford, by whose means, as he conceived, he had been placed in circumstances of so much danger. Sir Robert Ker, however, appeased all parties, by delivering himself up to ward in England; on which occasion he magnanimously chose for his guardian Sir Robert Carey, deputy-warden of the East Marches, notwithstanding various causes of animosity which existed betwixt them. The hospitality of Carey equalled the generous confidence of Cessford, and a firm friendship was the consequence.* Buccleuch appears to have re-

* Such traits of generosity illuminate the dark period of which we treat. Carey's conduct, on this occasion, almost atones for the cold and unfeeling policy with which he watched the closing moments of his benefactress, Elizabeth, impatient till remorse and sorrow should extort her last sigh, that he might lay the foundation of his future favour with her successor, by carrying him the first tidings of her death.—CAREY'S *Memoirs*, p. 172, *et sequen.* It would appear that

mained in England from October, 1597, till February, 1598.—JOHNSTONI *Historia*, p. 231.—SPOTTISWOODE, *ut supra*. According to ancient family tradition, Buccleuch was presented to Elizabeth, who, with her usual rough and peremptory address, demanded of him, "how "he dared to undertake an enterprize so desperate and "presumptuous." "What is it," answered the undaunted chieftain, "what is it that a man dares not "do?" Elizabeth, struck with the reply, turned to a lord in waiting; "With ten thousand such men," said

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Sir Robert Ker was soon afterwards committed to the custody of the Archbishop of York; for there is extant a letter from that prelate to the lord-treasurer, desiring instructions about the mode of keeping this noble hostage. "I understand," saith he, "that the gentleman "is wise and valiant, but somewhat haughty here, and resolute. I "would pray your lordship, that I may have directions whether he "may not go with his keeper in my company, to sermons; and whe-"ther he may not sometimes dine with the council, as the last host-"ages did; and, thirdly, whether he may sometimes be brought to "sitting to the common-hall, where he may see how careful her Ma-"jesty is that the poorest subject in her kingdom may have their "right, and that her people seek remedy by law, and not by avenging "themselves. Perhaps it may do him good as long as he liveth."—STRYPE'S *Annals*, *ad annum*, 1597. It would appear, from this letter, that the treatment of the hostages was liberal; though one can hardly suppress a smile at the zeal of the good bishop for the conversion of the Scottish chieftain to a more christian mode of thinking than was common among the Borderers of that day. The date is February 25, 1597, which is somewhat difficult to reconcile with those given by the Scottish historians. Another letter follows, stating, that Sir Robert, having been used to open air, prayed for more liberty for his health's sake, "offering his word, which it is said he doth chiefly "regard, that he would be true prisoner."—STRYPE, *ibid.*

she, " our brother of Scotland might shake the firmest " throne of Europe." Luckily, perhaps, for the murtheress of Queen Mary, James's talents did not lie that way.

The articles, settled by the commissioners at Berwick, were highly favourable to the peace of the Border. They may be seen at large in the *Border Laws*, p. 103. By article sixth, all wardens and keepers are discharged from seeking reparation of injuries, in the ancient hostile mode of riding, or causing to ride, in warlike manner against the opposite March; and that under the highest penalty, unless authorized by a warrant under the hand of their Sovereign. The mention of the word *keeper* alludes obviously to the above-mentioned reprisals, made by Buccleuch, in the capacity of keeper of Liddesdale.

This ballad is preserved, by tradition, on the West Borders, but much mangled by reciters; so that some conjectural emendations have been absolutely necessary to render it intelligible. In particular, the *Eden* has been substituted for the *Eske*, p. 205, the latter name being inconsistent with geography.

KINMONT WILLIE.

O HAVE ye na heard o' the fause Sakelde?
O have ye na heard o' the keen Lord Scroope?
How they hae ta'en bauld Kinmont Willie,
On Hairibee to hang him up?

Had Willie had but twenty men,
But twenty men as stout as he,
Fause Sakelde had never the Kinmont ta'en,
Wi' eight score in his cumpanie.

They band his legs beneath the steed,
They tied his hands behind his back;
They guarded him, fivesome on each side,
And they brought him ower the Liddel-rack.

They led him thro' the Liddel-rack,
And also thro' the Carlisle sands;
They brought him to Carlisle castell,
To be at my Lord Scroope's commands.

"My hands are tied, but my tongue is free.
"And whae will dare this deed avow?
"Or answer by the Border law?
"Or answer to the bauld Buccleuch!"

"Now haud thy tongue, thou rank reiver!
"There's never a Scot shall set ye free:
"Before ye cross my castle yate,
"I trow ye shall take farewell o' me."

"Fear na ye that, my lord," quo' Willie:
"By the faith o' my body, Lord Scroope," he said,
"I never yet lodged in a hostelrie,*
"But I paid my lawing † before I gaed."

Now word is gane to the bauld Keeper,
In Branksome Ha', where that he lay,
That Lord Scroope has ta'en the Kinmont Willie,
Between the hours of night and day.

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* *Hostelrie*—Inn. † *Lawing*—Reckoning.

He has ta'en the table wi' his hand,
He garr'd the red wine spring on hie—
"Now Christ's curse on my head," he said,
"But avenged of Lord Scroope I'll be!

"O is my basnet * a widow's curch? †
"Or my lance a wand of the willow tree?
"Or my arm a ladye's lilye hand,
"That an English lord should lightly ‡ me!

"And have they ta en him, Kinmont Willie,
"Against the truce of Border tide?
"And forgotten that the bauld Buccleuch
"Is Keeper here on the Scottish side?

"And have they e'en ta'en him, Kinmont Willie,
"Withouten either dread or fear?
"And forgotten that the bauld Buccleuch
"Can back a steed, or shake a spear?

"O were there war between the lands,
"As well I wot that there is none,
"I would slight Carlisle castell high,
"Tho' it were builded of marble stone.

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* *Basnet*—Helmet. † *Curch*—Coif. ‡ *Lightly*—Set light by.

" I would set that castell in a low,*
" And sloken it with English blood!
" There's nevir a man in Cumberland,
" Should ken where Carlisle castell stood.

" But since nae war's between the lands,
" And there is peace, and peace should be;
" I'll neither harm English lad or lass,
" And yet the Kinmont freed shall be!"—

He has call'd him forty Marchmen bauld,
I trow they were of his ain name,
Except Sir Gilbert Elliot call'd,
The Laird of Stobs, I mean the same.

He has call'd him forty Marchmen bauld,
Were kinsmen to the bauld Buccleuch;
With spur on heel, and splent on spauld,†
And gleuves of green, and feathers blue.

There were five and five before them a',
Wi' hunting horns and bugles bright;
And five and five came wi' Buccleuch,
Like warden's men, array'd for fight:

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* *Low*—Flame. † *Splent on spauld*—Armour on shoulder.

And five and five, like a mason gang,
That carried the ladders lang and hie;
And five and five, like broken men;
And so they reach'd the Woodhouselee.

And as we cross'd the Bateable Land,
When to the English side we held,
The first o' men that we met wi',
Whae sould it be but fause Sakelde?

"Where be ye gaun, ye hunters keen?"
Quo' fause Sakelde; "come tell to me!"
"We go to hunt an English stag,
"Has trespass'd on the Scots countrie."

"Where be ye gaun, ye marshal men?"
Quo' fause Sakelde; "come tell me true!"
"We go to catch a rank reiver,
"Has broken faith wi' the bauld Buccleuch."

"Where are ye gaun, ye mason lads,
"Wi' a' your ladders, lang and hie?"
"We gang to herry a corbie's nest,
"That wons not far frae Woodhouselee."

"Where be ye gaun, ye broken men?"
Quo' fause Sakelde; "come tell to me!"
Now Dickie of Dryhope led that band,
And the never a word o' lear had he.

"Why trespass ye on the English side?
"Row-footed outlaws, stand!" quo' he;
The nevir a word had Dickie to say,
Sae he thrust the lance through his fause bodie.

Then on we held for Carlisle toun,
And at Staneshaw-bank the Eden we cross'd;
The water was great and meikle of spait,
But the nevir a horse nor man we lost.

And when we reach'd the Staneshaw-bank,
The wind was rising loud and hie;
And there the Laird garr'd leave our steeds,
For fear that they should stamp and nie.

And when we left the Staneshaw-bank,
The wind began full loud to blaw;
But 'twas wind and weet, and fire and sleet,
When we came beneath the castle wa'.

We crept on knees, and held our breath,
Till we placed the ladders against the wa';
And sae ready was Buccleuch himself
To mount the first, before us a'.

He has ta'en the watchman by the throat,
He flung him down upon the lead—
"Had there not been peace between our land,
"Upon the other side thou hadst gaed!—

"Now sound out, trumpets!" quo' Buccleuch;
"Let's waken Lord Scroope, right merrilie!"
Then loud the warden's trumpet blew—
"*O wha dare meddle wi' me?*"*

Then speedilie to work we gaed,
And raised the slogan ane and a',
And cut a hole thro' a sheet of lead,
And so we wan to the castle ha'.

They thought King James and a' his men
Had won the house wi' bow and spear;
It was but twenty Scots and ten,
That put a thousand in sic a stear!†

* The name of a Border tune. † *Stear*—Stir.

Wi' coulters, and wi' fore-hammers,
We garr'd the bars bang merrilie,
Untill we cam to the inner prison,
Where Willie o' Kinmont he did lie.

And when we cam to the lower prison,
Where Willie o' Kinmont he did lie—
" O sleep ye, wake ye, Kinmont Willie,
" Upon the morn that thou's to die?"

" O I sleep saft,* and I wake aft;
" It's lang since sleeping was fleyed† frae me!
" Gie my service back to my wife and bairns,
" And a' gude fellows that spier for me."

Then Red Rowan has hente him up,
The starkest man in Teviotdale—
" Abide, abide now, Red Rowan,
" Till of my Lord Scroope I take farewell.

" Farewell, farewell, my gude Lord Scroope!
" My gude Lord Scroope, farewell!" he cried—
" I'll pay you for my lodging maill,‡
" When first we meet on the Border side."

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* *Saft*—Light. † *Fleyed*—Frightened. ‡ *Maill*—Rent.

Then shoulder high, with shout and cry,
We bore him down the ladder lang;
At every stride Red Rowan made,
I wot the Kinmont's airns play'd clang!

"O mony a time," quo' Kinmont Willie,
"I have ridden horse baith wild and wood;
"But a rougher beast than Red Rowan,
"I ween my legs have ne'er bestrode.

"And mony a time," quo' Kinmont Willie,
"I've pricked a horse out oure the furs;*
"But since the day I backed a steed,
"I never wore sic cumbrous spurs!"

We scarce had won the Staneshaw-bank,
When a' the Carlisle bells were rung,
And a thousand men, in horse and foot,
Cam wi' the keen Lord Scroope along.

Buccleuch has turn'd to Eden water,
Even where it flow'd frae bank to brim,
And he has plunged in wi' a' his band,
And safely swam them through the stream.

* *Furs*—Furrows.

He turn'd him on the other side,
And at Lord Scroope his glove flung he—
" If ye like na my visit in merry England,
" In fair Scotland come visit me!"

All sore astonish'd stood Lord Scroope,
He stood as still as rock of stane;
He scarcely dared to trew his eyes,
When through the water they had gane.

" He is either himsell a devil frae hell,
" Or else his mother a witch maun be;
" I wad na have ridden that wan water,
" For a' the gowd in Christentie."

NOTES

ON

KINMONT WILLIE.

On Hairibee to hang him up?—P. 200. v. 1.
Hairibee is the place of execution at Carlisle.

And they brought him ower the Liddel-rack.—P. 200. v. 3.
The Liddel-rack is a ford on the Liddel.

And so they reach'd the Woodhouselee.—P. 204. v. 1.
Woodhouselee; a house on the Border, belonging to Buccleuch.

* * * * * * * * *

The Salkeldes, or Sakeldes, were a powerful family in Cumberland, possessing, among other manors, that of Corby, before it came into the possession of the Howards, in the beginning of the seventeenth century. A strange stratagem was practised by an outlaw, called Jock Græme of the Peartree, upon Mr Salkelde, Sheriff of Cumberland; who is probably the person alluded to in the ballad, as the fact is stated to have happened late in Elizabeth's time. The brother of this free-

booter was lying in Carlisle jail for execution, when Jock of the Peartree came riding past the gate of Corby Castle. A child of the sheriff was playing before the door, to whom the outlaw gave an apple, saying, "Master, will you ride?" The boy willingly consenting, Grame took him up before him, carried him into Scotland, and would never part with him, till he had his brother safe from the gallows. There is no historical ground for supposing, either that Salkelde, or any one else, lost his life in the raid of Carlisle.

In the list of Border clans, 1597, Will of Kinmonth, with Kyrstie Armestrange, and John Skynbank, are mentioned as leaders of a band of Armstrongs called *Sandies Barnes*, inhabiting the Debateable Land. The ballad itself has never before been published.

DICK O' THE COW.

THIS ballad, and the two which immediately follow it in the collection, were first published, 1784, in the *Hawick Museum*, a provincial miscellany, to which they were communicated by John Elliot, Esq. of Reidheugh, a gentleman well skilled in the antiquities of the Western Border, and to whose friendly assistance the editor is indebted for many valuable communications.

These ballads are connected with each other, and appear to have been composed by the same author. The actors seem to have flourished, while Thomas Lord Scroope, of Bolton, was warden of the West Marches of England, and governor of Carlisle castle; which offices he acquired upon the death of his father, about 1590, and retained till the union of the crowns.

Dick of the Cow, from the privileged insolence which he assumes, seems to have been Lord Scroope's jester. In the preliminary dissertation, the reader will find the Border custom of assuming *nommes de guerre* particular-

ly noticed. It is exemplified in the following ballad, where one Armstrong is called the *Laird's Jock*, (i. e. the laird's son Jock), another *Fair Johnie*, a third *Billie Willie* (brother Willie), &c. The *Laird's Jock*, son to the Laird of Mangerton, appears, as one of the men of name in Liddesdale, in the list of the Border Clans, 1597.

Dick of the Cow is erroneously supposed to have been the same with one Ricardus Coldall, de Plumpton, a knight and celebrated warrior, who died in 1462, as appears from his epitaph in the church of Penrith.—NICHOLSON'S *History of Westmoreland and Cumberland*, vol. II. p. 408.

This ballad is very popular in Liddesdale; and the reciter always adds, at the conclusion, that poor Dickie's cautious removal to Burgh under Stanemore did not save him from the clutches of the Armstrongs; for that, having fallen into their power several years after this exploit, he was put to an inhuman death. The ballad was well known in England so early as 1596. An allusion to it likewise occurs in PARROT'S *Luquei Ridiculosi*, or *Springes for Woodcocks*; London, 1613.

Owenus woondreth since he came to Wales,
What the description of this isle should be,
That nere had seen but mountains, hills, and dales,
Yet would he boast, and stand on pedigree,
From Rice ap Richard, sprung from *Dick a Cow*,
Be cod, was right gud gentleman, look ye now!

Epigr. 76.

DICK O' THE COW.

Now Liddesdale has layen lang in,
There is na ryding there at a';
The horses are a' grown sae lither fat,
They downa stir out o' the sta'.

Fair Johnie Armstrang to Willie did say—
"Billie, a riding we will gae;
"England and us have been lang at feid;
"Ablins we'll light on some bootie."

Then they are come on to Hutton Ha';
They rade that proper place about;
But the laird he was the wiser man,
For he had left nae gear without.

For he had left nae gear to steal,
Except sax sheep upon a lee:
Quo' Johnie—" I'd rather in England die,
" Ere thir sax sheep gae to Liddesdale wi' me.

" But how ca' they the man we last met,
" Billie, as we cam owre the know?"
" That same he is an innocent fule,
" And men they call him Dick o' the Cow."

" That fule has three as good kye o' his ain,
" As there are in a' Cumberland, billie," quo' he:
" Betide me life, betide me death,
" These kye shall go to Liddesdale wi' me."

Then they have come on to the pure fule's house,
And they hae broken his wa's sae wide;
They have loosed out Dick o' the Cow's three kye,
And ta'en three co'erlets frae his wife's bed.

Then on the morn when the day was light,
The shouts and cries rase loud and hie:
" O haud thy tongue, my wife," he says,
" And o' thy crying let me be!

" O, haud thy tongue, my wife," he says,
" And o' thy crying let me be;
" And ay where thou hast lost ae cow,
" In gude suith I shall bring thee three."

Now Dickie's gane to the gude Lord Scroope,
And I wat a dreirie fule was he;
" Now haud thy tongue, my fule," he says,
" For I may not stand to jest wi' thee."

" Shame fa' your jesting, my lord!" quo' Dickie,
" For nae sic jesting grees wi' me;
" Liddesdale's been in my house last night,
" And they hae awa my three kye frae me.

" But I may nae langer in Cumberland dwell,
" To be your puir fule and your leal,
" Unless you gi' me leave, my lord,
" To gae to Liddesdale and steal."

" I gie thee leave, my fule!" he says;
" Thou speakest against my honour and me,
" Unless thou gie me thy trowth and thy hand,
" Thou'lt steal frae nane but whae sta' frae thee."

" There is my trowth, and my right hand !
" My head shall hang on Hairibee ;
" I'll ne'er cross Carlisle sands again,
" If I steal frae a man but whae sta' frae me."

Dickie's ta'en leave o' lord and master ;
I wat a merry fule was he !
He's bought a bridle and a pair o' new spurs,
And packed them up in his breek thie.

Then Dickie's come on to Pudding-burn house,
E'en as fast as he might drie ;
Then Dickie's come on to Pudding-burn,
Where there were thirty Armstrangs and three.

" O what's this come o' me now ?" quo' Dickie ;
" What mickle wae is this ?" quo' he ;
" For here is but ae innocent fule,
" And there are thirty Armstrangs and three !"

Yet he has come up to the fair ha' board,
Sae weil he's become his courtesie !
" Weil may ye be, my gude Laird's Jock !
" But the deil bless a' your cumpanie.

" I'm come to plain o' your man, fair Johnie Armstrang,
" And syne o' his billie Willie," quo' he;
" How they've been in my house last night,
" And they hae ta'en my three kye frae me."

" Ha!" quo' fair Johnie Armstrang, " we will him hang."
" Na," quo' Willie, " we'll him slae."
Then up and spak another young Armstrang,
" We'll gie him his batts,* and let him gae."

But up and spak the gude Laird's Jock,
The best falla in a' the cumpanie,
" Sit down thy ways a little while, Dickie,
" And a piece o' thy ain cow's hough I'll gie ye."

But Dickie's heart it grew sae grit,
That the ne'er a bit o't he dought to eat—
Then he was aware of an auld peat-house,
Where a' the night he thought for to sleep.

Then Dickie was aware of an auld peat-house,
Where a' the night he thought for to lye—
And a' the prayers the puir fule pray'd,
Were, " I wish I had amends for my gude three kye!"

* *Gie him his batts*—Dismiss him with a beating.

It was then the use of Pudding-burn house,
And the house of Mangerton, all hail,
Them that cam na at the first ca',
Gat nae mair meat till the neist meal.

The lads, that hungry and weary were,
Abune the door-head they threw the key;
Dickie he took gude notice o' that,
Says—" There will be a bootie for me."

Then Dickie has in to the stable gane,
Where there stood thirty horses and three;
He has tied them a' wi' St Mary's knot,
A' these horses but barely three.

He has tied them a' wi' St Mary's knot,
A' these horses but barely three;
He's loupen on ane, ta'en another in hand,
And away as fast as he can hie.

But on the morn, when the day grew light,
The shouts and cries raise loud and hie—
" Ah! whae has done this?" quo' the gude Laird's Jock,
" Tell me the truth and the verity!"

" Whae has done this deed ?" quo' the gude Laird's Jock;
" See that to me ye dinna lie !"
" Dickie has been in the stable last night,
" And has ta'en my brother's horse and mine frae me."

" Ye wad ne'er be tald," quo' the gude Laird's Jock;
" Have ye not found my tales fu' leil ?
" Ye ne'er wad out o' England bide,
" Till crooked, and blind, and a' would steal."

" But lend me thy bay," fair Johnie can say;
" There's nae horse loose in the stable save he;
" And I'll either fetch Dick o' the Cow again,
" Or the day is come that he shall die."

" To lend thee my bay !" the Laird's Jock can say,
" He's baith worth gowd and gude monie;
" Dick o' the Cow has awa twa horse;
" I wish na thou may make him three."

He has ta'en the laird's jack on his back,
A twa-handed sword to hang by his thie;
He has ta'en a steil cap on his head,
And gallopped on to follow Dickie.

Dickie was na a mile frae aff the town,
I wat a mile but barely three,
When he was o'erta'en by fair Johnie Armstrang,
Hand for hand, on Cannobie lee.

" Abide, abide, thou traitour thief!
" The day is come that thou maun die."
Then Dickie look't owre his left shoulder,
Said—" Johnie, hast thou nae mae in cumpanie?

" There is a preacher in our chapell,
" And a' the live lang day teaches he:
" When day is gane and night is come,
" There's ne'er ae word I mark but three.

" The first and second is—Faith and Conscience;
" The third—Ne'er let a traitour free:
" But, Johnie, what faith and conscience was thine,
" When thou took awa my three kye frae me?

" And when thou had ta'en awa my three kye,
" Thou thought in thy heart thou wast not weil sped,
" Till thou sent thy billie Willie ower the know,
" To tak thrie coverlets off my wife's bed!"

Then Johnie let a speir fa' laigh by his thie,
  Thought weil to hae slain the innocent, I trow;
But the powers above were mair than he,
  For he ran but the pure fule's jerkin through.

Together they ran, or ever they blan;
  This was Dickie the fule and he!
Dickie could na win at him wi' the blade o' the sword,
  But fell'd him wi' the plummet under the e'e.

Thus Dickie has fell'd fair Johnie Armstrang,
  The prettiest man in the south country—
" Gramercy!" then can Dickie say,
  " I had but twa horse, thou hast made me thrie!"

He's ta'en the steil jack aff Johnie's back,
  The twa-handed sword that hung low by his thie;
He's taen the steil cap aff his head—
  " Johnie, I'll tell my master I met wi' thee."

When Johnie wakened out o' his dream,
  I wat a dreirie man was he:
" And is thou gane? Now, Dickie, than
  " The shame and dule is left wi' me.

" And is thou gane? Now, Dickie, than
" The deil gae in thy cumpanie!
" For if I should live these hundred years,
" I ne'er shall fight wi' a fule after thee."—

Then Dickie's come hame to the gude Lord Scroope,
E'en as fast as he might hie;
" Now, Dickie, I'll neither eat nor drink,
" Till hie hanged thou shalt be."

" The shame speed the liars, my lord!" quo' Dickie;
" This was na the promise ye made to me!
" For I'd ne'er gane to Liddesdale to steal,
" Had I not got my leave frae thee."

" But what garr'd thee steal the Laird's Jock's horse?
" And, limmer, what garr'd ye steal him?" quo' he;
" For lang thou mightst in Cumberland dwelt,
" Ere the Laird's Jock had stown frae thee."

" Indeed I wat ye lied, my lord!
" And e'en sae loud as I hear ye lie!
" I wan the horse frae fair Johnie Armstrang,
" Hand to hand, on Cannobie lee.

" There is the jack was on his back ;
" This twa-handed sword hang laigh by his thie,
" And there's the steil cap was on his head ;
" I brought a' these tokens to let thee see."

" If that be true thou to me tells,
" (And I think thou dares na tell a lie,)
" I'll gie thee fifteen punds for the horse,
" Weil tald on thy cloak lap shall be.

" I'll gie thee ane o' my best milk kye,
" To maintain thy wife and children thrie ;
" And that may be as gude, I think,
" As ony twa o' thine wad be."

" The shame speed the liars, my lord !" quo' Dickie ;
" Trow ye aye to make a fule o' me ?
" I'll either hae twenty punds for the gude horse,
" Or he's gae to Mortan fair wi' me."

He's gien him twenty punds for the gude horse,
A' in goud and gude monie ;
He's gien him ane o' his best milk kye,
To maintain his wife and children thrie.

Then Dickie's come down thro' Carlisle toun,
E'en as fast as he could drie;
The first o' men that he met wi',
Was my lord's brother, Bailiff Glozenburrie.

"Weil be ye met, my gude Ralph Scroope!"
"Welcome, my brother's fule!" quo' he:
"Where didst thou get fair Johnie Armstrang's horse?"
"Where did I get him? but steal him," quo' he.

"But wilt thou sell me the bonny horse?
"And, billie, wilt thou sell him to me?" quo' he:
"Ay; if thou'lt tell me the monie on my cloak lap:
"For there's never ae penny I'll trust thee."

"I'll gie thee ten punds for the gude horse,
"Weil tald on thy cloak lap they shall be;
"And I'll gie thee ane o' the best milk kye,
"To maintain thy wife and children thrie."

"The shame speid the liars, my lord!" quo' Dickie;
"Trow ye aye to mak a fule o' me!
"I'll either hae twenty punds for the gude horse,
"Or he's gae to Mortan fair wi' me."

He's gien him twenty punds for the gude horse,
Baith in guod and gude monie;
He's gien him ane o' his best milk kye,
To maintain his wife and children thrie.

Then Dickie lap a loup fu' hie,
And I wat a loud laugh laughed he—
" I wish the neck o' the third horse was broken,
" If ony of the twa were better than he !"

Then Dickie's come hame to his wife again;
Judge ye how the puir fule had sped !
He has gien her twa score English punds,
For the thrie auld coverlets ta'en aff her bed.

" And tak thee these twa as gude kye,
" I trow, as a' thy thrie might be;
" And yet here is a white-footed nagie,
" I trow he'll carry baith thee and me.

" But I may nae langer in Cumberland bide;
" The Armstrangs they would hang me hie."
So Dickie's ta'en leave at lord and master,
And at Burgh under Stanmuir there dwells he.

NOTES

ON

DICK O' THE COW.

Then Dickie's come on to Pudding-burn house.—P. 217. v. 3.

This was a house of strength, held by the Armstrongs. The ruins at present form a sheep-fold, on the farm of Reidsmoss, belonging to the Duke of Buccleuch.

He has tied them a' wi' St Mary's knot.—P. 219. v. 4.

Hamstringing a horse is termed, in the Border dialect, *tying him with St Mary's knot.* Dickie used this cruel expedient to prevent a pursuit. It appears from the narration, that the horses, left unhurt, belonged to fair Johnie Armstrang, his brother Willie, and the Laird's Jock, of which Dickie carried off two, and left that of the Laird's Jock, probably out of gratitude for the protection he had afforded him on his arrival.

Hand for hand, on Cannobie lee.—P. 221. v. 1.

A rising-ground on Cannobie, on the borders of Liddesdale.

Ere the Lairdʃ Jock had stown frae thee.—P. 223. v. 4.

The commendation of the Laird's Jock's honesty seems but indifferently founded; for, in July, 1586, a bill was fouled against him, Dick of Dryup, and others, by the deputy of Bew-

castle, at a warden-meeting, for 400 head of cattle taken in open forray from the Drysike in Bewcastle: and in September 1587, another complaint appears at the instance of one Andrew Rutledge of the Nook, against the Laird's Jock, and his accomplices, for 50 kine and oxen, besides furniture, to the amount of 100 merks sterling. See Bell's MSS., as quoted in the *History of Cumberland and Westmoreland.* In Sir Richard Maitland's poem against the thieves of Liddesdale, he thus commemorates the Laird's Jock:

They spuilye puir men of their pakis,
They leif them nocht on bed nor bakis;
Baith hen and cok,
With reil and rok,
The *Lairdis Jock*
All with him takis.

Those who plundered Dick had been bred up under an expert teacher.

Tradition reports, that the Laird's Jock survived to extreme old age, when he died in the following extraordinary manner. A challenge had been given by an Englishman, named Forster, to any Scottish Borderer, to fight him at a place called Kershope-foot, exactly upon the Borders. The Laird's Jock's only son accepted the defiance, and was armed by his father with his own two-handed sword. The old champion himself, though bed-ridden, insisted upon being present at the battle. He was borne to the place appointed, wrapped, it is said, in blankets, and placed upon a very high stone to witness the conflict. In the duel his son fell, treacherously slain, as the Scotch tradition affirms. The old man gave a loud yell of terror and despair when he saw his son slain and his noble weapon won by an Englishman, and died as they bore him home. A venerable Border poet (though of these later days) has composed a poem on this romantic incident. The stone on which the Laird's Jock sate to behold the duel, was in existence till wantonly destroyed a year or two since. It was always called THE LAIRD'S JOCK'S STONE.

JOCK O' THE SIDE.

THE subject of this ballad, being a common event in those troublesome and disorderly times, became a favourite theme of the ballad-makers. There are, in this collection, no fewer than three poems on the rescue of prisoners, the incidents in which nearly resemble each other; though the poetical description is so different, that the editor did not think himself at liberty to reject any one of them, as borrowed from the others. As, however, there are several verses, which, in recitation, are common to all these three songs, the editor, to prevent unnecessary and disagreeable repetition, has used the freedom of appropriating them to that in which they seem to have the best poetic effect.

The reality of this story rests solely upon the foundation of tradition. Jock o' the Side seems to have been nephew to the Laird of Mangertoun, cousin to the Laird's Jock, one of his deliverers, and probably brother to

Chrystie of the Syde, mentioned in the list of Border clans, 1597. Like the Laird's Jock, he also is commemorated by Sir Richard Maitland.—See the *Introduction.*

He is weil kend, Johne of the Syde,
A greater thief did never ryde;
He nevir tyris,
For to brek byris,
Our muir and myris
Ouir gude ane guide.

Jock o' the Side appears to have assisted the Earl of Westmoreland in his escape after his unfortunate insurrection with the Earl of Northumberland, in the twelfth year of Elizabeth. "The two rebellious rebels went into Liddesdale in Scotland, yesternight, where Martin Ellwood (Elliot) and others, that have given pledges to the regent of Scotland, did raise their forces against them; being conducted by black Ormeston, an outlaw of Scotland, that was a principal murtherer of the King of Scots, where the fight was offered, and both parties alighted from their horses; and, in the end, Ellwood said to Ormeston, he would be sorry to enter deadly feud with him by bloodshed; but he would charge him and the rest before the regent for keeping of the rebels; and if he did not put them out of the country, the next day, he would doe his worst again them'; whereupon, the two earls were driven to leave Liddesdale, and to fly to one of the Armstrongs, a Scot upon the batable [debateable] land on the Borders between Liddesdale and England. The

same day the Liddesdale men stole the horses of the Countess of Northumberland, and of her two women, and ten others of their company; so as, the earls being gone, the lady of Northumberland was left there on foot, at John of the Side's house, a cottage not to be compared to many a dog-kennel in England. At their departing from her, they went not above fifty horse, and the Earl of Westmoreland, to be the more unknown, changed his coat of plate and sword with John of the Side, and departed like a Scottish Borderer."—*Advertisements from Hexham*, 22d December, 1569, in the Cabala, p. 160.

The land-serjeant mentioned in this ballad, and also that of *Hobbie Noble*, was an officer under the warden, to whom was committed the apprehending of delinquents, and the care of the public peace.

JOCK O' THE SIDE.

Now Liddesdale has ridden a raid,
But I wat they had better hae staid at hame;
For Michael o' Winfield he is dead,
And Jock o' the Side is prisoner ta'en.

For Mangerton house Lady Downie has gane,
Her coats she has kilted up to her knee;
And down the water wi' speed she rins,
While tears in spaits * fa' fast frae her e'e.

Then up and spoke our gude auld lord—
"What news, what news, sister Downie, to me?"
"Bad news, bad news, my Lord Mangerton;
"Michael is killed, and they hae ta'en my son Johnie."

* *Spaits*—Torrents.

" Ne'er fear, sister Downie," quo' Mangerton;
" I have yokes of ousen, eighty and three;
" My barns, my byres, and my faulds a' weil fill'd,
" I'll part wi' them a' ere Johnie shall die.

" Three men I'll send to set him free,
" A' harneist wi' the best o' steil;
" The English louns may hear, and drie
" The weight o' their braid-swords to feel.

" The Laird's Jock ane, the Laird's Wat twa,
" O Hobbie Noble, thou ane maun be!
" Thy coat is blue, thou hast been true,
" Since England banish'd thee to me."

Now Hobbie was an English man,
In Bewcastle dale was bred and born:
But his misdeeds they were sae great,
They banish'd him ne'er to return.

Lord Mangerton them orders gave,
" Your horses the wrang way maun be shod;
" Like gentlemen ye mauna seim,
" But look like corn-caugers * ga'en the road.

* *Caugers*—Carriers.

" Your armour gude ye mauna shaw,
" Nor yet appear like men o' weir;
" As country lads be a' array'd,
" Wi' branks and brecham * on each mare."

Sae now their horses are the wrang way shod,
And Hobbie has mounted his grey sae fine;
Jock his lively bay, Wat's on his white horse behind,
And on they rode for the water of Tyne.

At the Cholerford they a' light down,
And there, wi' the help of the light o' the moon,
A tree they cut, wi' fifteen nogs on each side,
To climb up the wa' of Newcastle toun.

But when they came to Newcastle toun,
And were alighted at the wa',
They fand thair tree three ells ower laigh,
They fand their stick baith short and sma'.

Then up and spak the Laird's ain Jock;
" There's naething for't; the gates we maun force."
But when they cam the gate untill,
A proud porter withstood baith men and horse.

* *Branks and Brecham*—Halter and cart-collar.

His neck in twa the Armstrangs wrang;
Wi' fute or hand he ne'er play'd pa!
His life and his keys at anes they hae ta'en,
And cast the body ahind the wa'.

Now sune they reach Newcastle jail,
And to the prisoner thus they call;
"Sleeps thou, wakes thou, Jock o' the Side,
"Or art thou weary of thy thrall?"

Jock answers thus, wi' dulefu' tone;
"Aft, aft I wake—I seldom sleep:
"But whae's this kens my name sae weil,
"And thus to mese * my waes does seik?"

Then out and spak the gude Laird's Jock,
"Now fear ye na, my billie," quo' he;
"For here are the Laird's Jock, the Laird's Wat,
"And Hobbie Noble, come to set thee free."

"Now had thy tongue, my gude Laird's Jock,
"For ever, alas! this canna be;
"For if a' Liddesdale were here the night,
"The morn's the day that I maun die.

* *Mese*—Scotch.

" Full fifteen stane o' Spanish iron,
" They hae laid a' right sair on me;
" Wi' locks and keys I am fast bound
" Into this dungeon dark and dreirie."

" Fear ye na' that," quo' the Laird's Jock;
" A faint heart ne'er wan a fair ladie;
" Work thou within, we'll work without,
" And I'll be sworn we'll set thee free."

The first strong door that they cam at,
They loosed it without a key;
The next chain'd door that they cam at,
They garr'd it a' to flinders flee.

The prisoner now upon his back,
The Laird's Jock has gotten up fu' hie;
And down the stairs, him, airns and a',
Wi' nae sma' speid and joy, brings he.

" Now, Jock, my man," quo' Hobbie Noble,
" Some o' his weight ye may lay on me."
" I wat weil no!" quo' the Laird's ain Jock,
" I count him lighter than a flee."

Sae out at the gates they a' are gane,
The prisoner's set on horseback hie;
And now wi' speid they've ta'en the gate,
While ilk ane jokes fu' wantonlie:

"O Jock! sae winsomely's ye ride,
"Wi' baith your feet upon ae side;
"Sae weel ye're harneist, and sae trig,
"In troth ye sit like ony bride!"

The night, tho' wat, they did na mind,
But hied them on fu' merrilie,
Until they cam to Cholerford brae,*
Where the water ran like mountains hie.

But when they cam to Cholerford,
There they met with an auld man;
Says—"Honest man, will the water ride?
"Tell us in haste, if that ye can."

"I wat weel no," quo' the gude auld man;
"I hae lived here thretty years and thrie,
"And I ne'er yet saw the Tyne sae big,
"Nor running anes sae like a sea."

* *Cholerford brae*—A ford, upon the Tyne, above Hexham.

Then out and spoke the Laird's saft Wat,
The greatest coward in the cumpanie;
"Now halt, now halt! we need na try't;
"The day is come we a' maun die!"

"Puir faint-hearted thief!" cried the Laird's ain Jock,
"There'l nae man die but him that's fie;*
"I'll guide ye a' right safely thro';
"Lift ye the pris'ner on ahint me."

Wi' that the water they hae ta'en,
By ane's and twa's they a' swam thro';
"Here are we a' safe," quo' the Laird's Jock,
"And, puir faint Wat, what think ye now?"

They scarce the other brae had won,
When twenty men they saw pursue;
Frae Newcastle toun they had been sent,
A' English lads baith stout and true.

But when the land-serjeant the water saw,
"It winna ride, my lads," says he;
Then cried aloud—"The prisoner take,
"But leave the fetters, I pray, to me."

* *Fie*—Predestined.

" I wat weil no," quo' the Laird's ain Jock;
" I'll keep them a'; shoon to my mare they'll be,
" My gude bay mare—for I am sure,
" She has bought them a' right dear frae thee."

Sae now they are on to Liddesdale,
E'en as fast as they could them hie;
The prisoner is brought to's ain fire-side,
And there o's airns they mak him free.

" Now, Jock, my billie," quo' a' the three,
" The day is com'd thou was to die;
" But thou's as weil at thy ain ingle side,
" Now sitting, I think, 'twixt thee and me."

THE

DEATH OF FEATHERSTONHAUGH.

This old Northumbrian ballad was originally printed in the notes to *Marmion*, but it is here inserted in its proper place. It was taken down from the recitation of a woman eighty years of age, mother of one of the miners in Alston-Moor, by the agent of the lead mines there, who communicated it to my friend and correspondent, R. Surtees, Esq. of Mainsforth. She had not, she said, heard it for many years; but, when she was a girl, it used to be sung at merry-makings, "till the roof rung "again." To preserve this curious, though rude rhyme, it is here inserted. The ludicrous turn given to the slaughter, marks that wild and disorderly state of society, in which a murder was not merely a casual circumstance, but, in some cases, an exceedingly good jest. The structure of the ballad resembles the "Fray of Suport," having the same irregular stanza and wild chorus.

THE

DEATH OF FEATHERSTONHAUGH.

Hoot awa', lads, hoot awa,'
Ha' ye heard how the Ridleys, and Thirlwalls, and a',
Ha' set upon Albany* Featherstonhaugh,
And taken his life at the Deadmanshaugh?
There was Willimoteswick,
And Hardriding Dick,
And Hughie of Hawdon, and Will of the Wa'.
I canno tell a', I canno tell a',
And mony a mair that the deil may knaw.

The auld man went down, but Nicol, his son,
Ran away afore the fight was begun;
And he run, and he run,
And afore they were done,
There was many a Featherston gat sic a stun,
As never was seen since the world begun.

* Pronounced *Awbony*.

I canno tell a', I canno tell a';
Some gat a skelp,* and some gat a claw;
But they gar'd the Featherstons haud their jaw,†—
Nicol, and Alick, and a.'
Some gat a hurt, and some gat nane;
Some had harness, and some gat sta'en.‡

Ane gat a twist o' the craig;§
Ane gat a bunch¶ o' the wame;**
Symy Haw gat lamed of a leg,
And syne ran wallowing hame.††

Hoot, hoot, the auld man's slain outright!
Lay him now wi' his face down:—he's a sorrowful sight.
Janet, thou donot,‡‡
I'll lay my best bonnet,
Thou gets a new gude-man afore it be night.

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* *Skelp*—Signifies slap, or rather is the same word which was originally spelled *schlap*.

† *Haud their jaw*—Hold their jaw; a vulgar expression still in use.

‡ *Gat sta'en*—Got stolen, or were plundered; a very likely termination of the fray.

§ *Craig*—Neck. ¶ *Bunch*—Punch. ** *Wame*—Belly.

†† *Wallowing*—Bellowing.

‡‡ *Donot*—Silly slut. The Border bard calls her so, because she was weeping for her husband; a loss which he seems to think might be soon repaired.

Hoo away, lads, hoo away,
Wi's a be hangid if we stay.
Tak' up the dead man, and lay him anent the bigging:
Here's the Bailey o' Haltwhistle,*
Wi' his great bull's pizzle,
That supp'd up the broo', and syne——in the piggin.†

* *Bailey o' Haltwhistle*—The Bailiff of Haltwhistle seems to have arrived when the fray was over. This supporter of social order is treated with characteristic irreverence by the moss-trooping poet.

† An iron-pot with two ears.

NOTE

ON

THE DEATH OF FEATHERSTONHAUGH.

In explanation of this ancient ditty, Mr Surtees has furnished me with the following local memorandum: Willimoteswick, now more commonly called Ridley Hall, is situated at the confluence of the Allon and Tyne, and was the chief seat of the ancient family of Ridley. Hardriding Dick is not an epithet referring to horsemanship, but means Richard Ridley of Hardriding, the seat of another family of that name, which, in the time of Charles I., was sold on account of expences incurred by the loyalty of the proprietor, the immediate ancestor of Sir Matthew Ridley. Will of the Wa' seems to be William Ridley of Walltown, so called from its situation on the great Roman wall. Thirlwall castle, whence the clan of Thirlwalls derived their name, is situated on the small river of Tippell, near the western boundary of Northumberland. It is near the wall, and takes its name from the rampart having been *thirled*, *i. e.* pierced, or breached, in its vicinity. Featherston Castle lies south of the Tyne, towards Alston-Moor. Albany

Featherstonhaugh, the chief of that ancient family, made a figure in the reign of Edward VI. A feud did certainly exist between the Ridleys and Featherstones, productive of such consequences as the ballad narrates. 24 *Oct.* 22*do Henrici* 8*vi Inquisitio capt. apud Hautwhistle, sup. visum corpus Alexandri Featherston, Gen. apud Grensilhaugh, felonice interfecti,* 21 *Oct.* per Nicolaum Ridley de Unthanke, Gen. *Hugon Ridle Nicolaum Ridle et alios ejusdem nominis.* Nor were the Featherstones without their revenge; for 36to Henrici 8vi, we have—*Utlagatio Nicolai Featherston, ac Thome Nyxon, &c. pro homicidio Willmi. Ridle de Morale.*

HOBBIE NOBLE.

We have seen the hero of this ballad act a distinguished part in the deliverance of Jock o' the Side, and are now to learn the ungrateful return which the Armstrongs made him for his faithful services.* Halbert, or Hobbie Noble, appears to have been one of those numerous English outlaws, who, being forced to fly their own country, had established themselves on the Scottish Borders. As Hobbie continued his depredations upon the English,

* The original editor of the *Reliques of Ancient Poetry* has noticed the perfidy of this clan in another instance; the delivery of the banished Earl of Northumberland into the hands of the Scottish regent, by Hector of Harelaw, an Armstrong, with whom he had taken refuge.—*Reliques of Ancient Poetry*, vol. I. p. 283.—This Hector of Harelaw seems to have been an Englishman, or under English assurance; for he is one of those, against whom bills were exhibited by the Scottish commissioners, to the Lord Bishop of Carlisle.—*Introduction to the History of Westmoreland and Cumberland*, p. 81. In the list of Borderers, 1597, Hector of Harelaw, with the Griefs and Cuts of Harelaw, also figures as an inhabitant of the Debateable Land. It

they bribed some of his hosts, the Armstrongs, to decoy him into England, under pretence of a predatory expedition. He was there delivered, by his treacherous companions, into the hands of the officers of justice, by whom he was conducted to Carlisle, and executed next morning. The Laird of Mangerton, with whom Hobbie was in high favour, is said to have taken a severe revenge upon the traitors who betrayed him. The principal contriver of the scheme, called here Sim o' the Maynes, fled into England from the resentment of his chief; but experienced there the common fate of a traitor, being himself executed at Carlisle, about two months after Hobbie's death. Such is, at least, the tradition of Liddesdale. Sim o' the Maynes appears among the Armstrongs of Whitauch, in Liddesdale, in the list of Clans so often alluded to.

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would appear, from a spirited invective in the Maitland MS. against the regent, and those who delivered up the unfortunate earl to Elizabeth, that Hector had been guilty of this treachery, to redeem the pledge which had been exacted from him for his peaceable demeanour. The poet says, that the perfidy of Morton and Lochlevin was worse than even that of—

> —the traitour Eckie of Harelaw,
> That says he sould him to redeem his pledge;
> Your deed is war, as all the world does know—
> You nothing can but covatice alledge.
>
> PINKERTON's *Maitland Poems*, vol. I. p. 290.

Eckie is the contraction of Hector among the vulgar.

These little memoranda may serve still farther to illustrate the beautiful ballads, upon that subject, published in the *Reliques*.

Kershope-burn, where Hobbie met his treacherous companions, falls into the Liddel, from the English side, at a place called Turnersholm, where, according to tradition, tourneys and games of chivalry were often solemnized. The Mains was anciently a Border-keep, near Castletoun, on the north side of the Liddel, but is now totally demolished.

Askerton is an old castle, now ruinous, situated in the wilds of Cumberland, about seventeen miles north-east of Carlisle, amidst that mountainous and desolate tract of country bordering upon Liddesdale, emphatically termed the Waste of Bewcastle. Conscouthart Green, and Roderic-haugh, and the Foulbogshiel, are the names of places in the same wilds, through which the Scottish plunderers generally made their raids upon England; as appears from the following passage in a letter from William, Lord Dacre, to Cardinal Wolsey, 18th July, 1528; *Appendix to* PINKERTON'S *Scotland*, v. 12, No. XIX. "Like it also your grace, seeing the "disordour within Scotlaund, that all the mysguyded "men, Borderers of the same, inhabiting within Esk-"dale, Ewsdale, Walghopedale, Liddesdale, and a part "of Tividale, foranempt Bewcastelldale, and a part of "the Middle Marches of this the King's Bordours, "entres not this West and Middle Marches, to do any "attemptate to the King our said soveraine's subjects: "but thaye come thorow Bewcastelldale, and retornes, "for the most part, the same waye agayne."

Willeva and Speir Edom are small districts in Bewcastledale, through which also the Hartlie-burn takes its course.

Of the castle of Mangertoun, so often mentioned in these ballads, there are very few vestiges. It was situated on the banks of the Liddell, below Casteltoun. In the wall of a neighbouring mill, which has been entirely built from the ruins of the tower, there is a remarkable stone, bearing the arms of the Lairds of Mangertoun, and a long broad-sword, with the figures 1583; probably the date of building, or repairing, the castle. On each side of the shield are the letters S. A. and E. E., standing probably for Symon Armstrong and Elizabeth Elliot. Such is the only memorial of the Laird of Mangertoun, except those rude ballads, which the editor now offers to the public.

HOBBIE NOBLE.

FOUL fa' the breast first treason bred in!
That Liddesdale may safely say:
For in it there was baith meat and drink,
And corn unto our geldings gay.

And we were a' stout-hearted men,
As England she might often say;
But now we may turn our backs and flee,
Since brave Noble is sold away.

Now Hobbie was an English man,
And born into Bewcastle dale;
But his misdeeds they were so great,
They banish'd him to Liddesdale.

At Kershope foot the tryst was set,
Kershope of the lilye lee;
And there was traitor Sim o' the Mains,
And with him a private companie.

Then Hobbie has graithed his body fair,
Baith wi' the iron and wi' the steil;
And he has ta'en out his fringed grey,
And there, brave Hobbie, he rade him weel.

Then Hobbie is down the water gane,
E'en as fast as he could hie;
Tho' a' should hae bursten and broken their hearts,
Frae that riding tryst he wad na be.

"Weel be ye met, my feres* five!
"And now, what is your will wi' me?"
Then they cried a', wi' ae consent,
"Thou'rt welcome here, brave Noble, to me.

"Wilt thou with us into England ride,
"And thy safe warrand we will be?
"If we get a horse, worth a hundred pound,
"Upon his back thou sune sall be."

* *Feres*—Companions.

" I dare not by day into England ride;
" The Land-Serjeant has me at feid:
" And I know not what evil may betide,
" For Peter of Whitfield, his brother, is dead.

" And Anton Shiel he loves not me,
" For I gat twa drifts o' his sheep;
" The great Earl of Whitfield loves me not,
" For nae geer frae me he e'er could keep.

" But will ye stay till the day gae down,
" Untill the night come o'er the grund,
" And I'll be a guide worth ony twa
" That may in Liddesdale be found?

" Though the night be black as pick and tar,
" I'll guide ye o'er yon hill sae hie;
" And bring ye a' in safety back,
" If ye'll be true, and follow me."

He has guided them o'er moss and muir,
O'er hill and hope, and mony a down;
Until they came to the Foulbogshiel,
And there, brave Noble, he lighted down.

But word is gane to the Land-Serjeant,
In Askerton where that he lay—
"The deer, that ye hae hunted sae lang,
"Is seen into the Waste this day."

"Then Hobbie Noble is that deer!
"I wat he carries the style fu' hie;
"Aft has he driven our bluidhounds back,
"And set ourselves at little lee.

"Gar warn the bows of Hartlie burn;
"See they sharp their arrows on the wa':
"Warn Willeva and Speir Edom,
"And see the morn they meet me a'.

"Gar meet me on the Rodric-haugh,
"And see it be by break o' day;
"And we will on to Conscouthart-green,
"For there, I think, we'll get our prey."

Then Hobbie Noble has dreimit a dreim,
In the Foulbogshiel, where that he lay;
He dreimit his horse was aneith him shot,
And he himself got hard away.

The cocks could craw, the day could daw,
And I wot sae even fell down the rain;
Had Hobbie na wakened at that time,
In the Foulbogshiel he had been ta'en or slain.

"Awake, awake, my feres five!
"I true here makes a fu' ill day;
"Yet the worst cloak o' this company,
"I hope, shall cross the Waste this day."

Now Hobbie thought the gates were clear;
But, ever alas! it was na sae:
They were beset by cruel men and keen,
That away brave Hobbie might na gae.

"Yet follow me, my feres five,
"And see ye keip of me guid ray;
"And the worst cloak o' this company
"Even yet may cross the Waste this day."

But the Land-Serjeant's men came Hobbie before,
The traitor Sim came Hobbie behin',
So had Noble been wight as Wallace was,
Away, alas! he might na win.

Then Hobbie had but a laddie's sword;
  But he did mair than a laddie's deed;
For that sword had clear'd Conscouthart green,
  Had it not broke o'er Jerswigham's head.

Then they hae ta'en brave Hobbie Noble,
  Wi's ain bowstring they band him sae;
But his gentle heart was ne'er sae sair,
  As when his ain five bound him on the brae.

They hae ta'en him on for west Carlisle;
  They ask'd him, if he kend the way?
Tho' much he thought, yet little he said;
  He knew the gate as weel as they.

They hae ta'en him up the Ricker-gate;*
  The wives they cast their windows wide;
And every wife to another can say,
  "That's the man loosed Jock o' the Side!"

"Fy on ye, women! why ca' ye me man?
  "For it's nae man that I'm used like;
"I am but like a forfoughen† hound,
  "Has been fighting in a dirty syke."‡

* A street in Carlisle.
† *Forfoughen*—Quite fatigued.
‡ *Syke*—Ditch.

They hae had him up thro' Carlisle town,
And set him by the chimney fire;
They gave brave Noble a loaf to eat,
And that was little his desire.

They gave him a wheaten loaf to eat,
And after that a can of beer;
And they a' cried, with one consent,
"Eat, brave Noble, and make gude cheir.

"Confess my lord's horse, Hobbie," they said,
"And to-morrow in Carlisle thou's na die."
"How can I confess them," Hobbie says,
"When I never saw them with my e'e?"

Then Hobbie has sworn a fu' great aith,
Bi the day that he was gotten and born,
He never had ony thing o' my lord's,
That either eat him grass or corn.

"Now fare thee weel, sweet Mangerton!
"For I think again I'll ne'er thee see:
"I wad hae betrayed nae lad alive,
"For a' the gowd o' Christentie.

" And fare thee weel, sweet Liddesdale!
" Baith the hie land and the law;
" Keep ye weel frae the traitor Mains!
" For goud and gear he'll sell ye a'.

" Yet wad I rather be ca'd Hobbie Noble,
" In Carlisle, where he suffers for his fau't,
" Than I'd be ca'd the traitor Mains,
" That eats and drinks o' the meal and maut."

NOTES

ON

HOBBIE NOBLE.

The great Earl of Whitfield loves me not.—P. 252. v. 2.

Whitfield is explained by Mr Ellis of Otterbourne to be a large and rather wild manorial district in the extreme south-west part of Northumberland; the proprietor of which might be naturally called the Lord, though not *Earl* of Whitfield. I suspect, however, that the reciters may have corrupted the *great* Ralph Whitfield into Earl of Whitfield. Sir Matthew Whitfield of Whitfield was Sheriff of Northumberland in 1433, and the estate continued in the family from the reign of Richard II. till about fifty years since.

Aft has he driven our bluidhounds back.—P. 253. v. 2.

" The russet bloodhound, wont, near Annand's stream,
" To trace the sly thief with avenging foot,
" Close as an evil conscience still at hand."

Our ancient statutes inform us, that the blood-hound, or sluith-hound (so called from its quality of tracing the slot, or track, of men and animals), was early used in the pursuit and

detection of marauders. *Nullus perturbet, aut impediat canem trassantem, aut homines trassantes cum ipso, ad sequendum latrones.—Regiam Majestatem,* Lib. 4tus, Cap. 32. And, so late as 1616, there was an order from the king's commissioners of the northern counties, that a certain number of slough-hounds should be maintained in every district of Cumberland, bordering upon Scotland. They were of great value, being sometimes sold for a hundred crowns.—*Exposition of Bleau's Atlas, voce Nithsdale.* The breed of this sagacious animal, which could trace the human footstep with the most unerring accuracy, is now nearly extinct.

ROOKHOPE RYDE.

THIS is a bishoprick Border song, composed in 1569, taken down from the chanting of George Collingwood the elder, late of Boltsburn, in the neighbourhood of Ryhope, who was intered at Stanhope, the 16th December, 1785.

Rookhope is the name of a valley about five miles in length; at the termination of which, Rookhope-burn empties itself into the river Wear: the dale lies in the north part of the parish of Stanhope, in Weardale. Rookhope-head is the top of the vale. The ballad derives some additional interest, from the date of the event being so precisely ascertained to be the 6th December, 1572, when the Tynedale robbers, taking advantage of the public confusion occasioned by the rebellion of Westmoreland and Northumberland, and which particularly affected the bishoprick of Durham, determined to make this foray into Weardale. The late eminent antiquary,

Joseph Ritson, took down this ballad from the mouth of the reciter, and printed it as part of an intended collection of Border Ballads, which was never published. His nephew, Mr Frank, was so good as to favour me with the copy from which it is here given. To the illustrations of Mr Ritson, I have been enabled to add those of my friend Mr Surtees.

ROOKHOPE RYDE.

Rookhope stands in a pleasant place,
If the false thieves wad let it be,
But away they steal our goods apace,
And ever an ill death may they dee !

And so is the man of Thirlwall and Willie-haver,
And all their companies thereabout,
That is minded to do mischief,
And at their stealing stands not out.

But yet we will not slander them all,
For there is of them good enough ;
It is a sore consumed tree
That on it bears not one fresh bough.

Lord God ! is not this a pitiful case,
That men dare not drive their goods to the fell,
But limmer thieves drives them away,
That fears neither heaven nor hell ?

Lord, send us peace into the realm,
That every man may live on his own !
I trust to God, if it be his will,
That Weardale men may never be overthrown.

For great troubles they've had in hand,
With Borderers pricking hither and thither,
But the greatest fray that e'er they had,
Was with the men of Thirlwall and Willie-haver.

They gather'd together so royally,
The stoutest men and the best in gear ;
And he that rade not on a horse,
I wat he rade on a weil-fed mear.

So in the morning, before they came out,
So weel I wot they broke their fast ;
In the forenoon they came unto a bye fell,
Where some of them did eat their last.*

* This would be about eleven o'clock, the usual dinner-hour in that period.

When they had eaten aye and done,
They say'd, some captains here needs must be:
Then they choosed forth Harry Corbyl,
And 'Symon Fell,' and Martin Ridley.

Then o'er the moss, where as they came,
With many a brank and whew,
One of them could to another say,
"I think this day we are men enew.

"For Weardale-men have a journey ta'en,
"They are so far out o'er yon fell,
"That some of them's with the two earls,
"And others fast in Bernard castell.

"There we shall get gear enough,
"For there is nane but women at hame;
"The sorrowful fend that they can make,
"Is loudly* cries as they were slain."

Then in at Rookhope-head they came,
And there they thought tul a' had their prey,
But they were spy'd coming over the Dry-rig,
Soon upon Saint Nicolas' day.†

* This is still the phraseology of Westmoreland: a *poorly* man, a *softly* day, and the like.

† The 6th of December.

Then in at Rookhope-head they came,
  They ran the forest but a mile;
They gather'd together in four hours
  Six hundred sheep within a while.

And horses I trow they gat,
  But either ane or twa,
And they gat them all but ane
  That belanged to great Rowley.

That Rowley was the first man that did them spy,
  With that he raised a mighty cry;
The cry it came down Rookhope-burn,
  And spread through Weardale hasteyly.

Then word came to the bailif's house
  At the East-gate, where he did dwell;
He was walk'd out to the Smale-burns,
  Which stands above the Hanging-well.*

His wife was wae when she heard tell,
  So well she wist her husband wanted gear;

* A place in the neighbourhood of East-gate, known at present, as well as the Dry-rig, or Smale-burns; being the property of Mr Robert Richardson, by inheritance, since before 1563.—RITSON.

She gar'd saddle him his horse in haste,
And neither forget sword, jack,* nor spear.

The bailif got wit before his gear came,
That such news was in the land,
He was sore troubled in his heart,
That on no earth that he could stand.

His brother was hurt three days before,
With limmer thieves that did him prick;
Nineteen bloody wounds lay him upon,
What ferly was't that he lay sick?

But yet the bailif shrinked nought,
But fast after them he did hye,
And so did all his neighbours near,
That went to bear him company.

But when the bailif was gathered,
And all his company,
They were number'd to never a man
But forty under fifty.

* A jacket, or short coat, plated or instiched with small pieces of iron, and usually worn by the peasantry of the Border in their journeys from place to place, as well as in their occasional skirmishes with the moss-troopers, who were most probably equipped with the same sort of harness.—RITSON.

The thieves was numbered a hundred men,
I wat they were not of the worst:
That could be choosed out of Thirlwall and Willie-haver,
I trow they were the very first.*

But all that was in Rookhope-head,
And all that was i' Nuketon-cleugh,
Where Weardale-men o'ertook the thieves,
And there they gave them fighting eneugh.

So sore they made them fain to flee,
As many was a' out of hand,
And, for tul have been at home again,
They would have been in iron bands.

And for the space of long seven years
As sore they mighten a' had their lives,
But there was never one of them
That ever thought to have seen their wives.

About the time the fray began,
I trow it lasted but an hour,
Till many a man lay weaponless,
And was sore wounded in that stour.

* The reciter, from his advanced age, could not recollect the original line thus imperfectly supplied.—RITSON.

Also before that hour was done,
Four of the thieves were slain,
Besides all those that wounded were,
And eleven prisoners there was ta'en.

George Carrick, and his brother Edie,
Them two, I wot, they were both slain;
Harry Corbyl, and Lennie Carrick,
Bore them company in their pain.

One of our Weardale-men was slain,
Rowland Emerson his name hight;
I trust to God his soul is well,
Because he fought unto the right.

But thus they say'd, "We'll not depart
"While we have one:—Speed back again!"
And when they came amongst the dead men,
There they found George Carrick slain.

And when they found George Carrick slain,
I wot it went well near their heart;
Lord let them never make a better end,
That comes to play them sicken a part.

I trust to God, no more they shall,
Except it be one for a great chance;
For God will punish all those
With a great heavy pestilence.

Thir limmer thieves, they have good hearts,
They nevir think to be o'erthrown;
Three banners against Weardale-men they bare,
As if the world had been all their own.

Thir Weardale-men, they have good hearts,
They are as stiff as any tree;
For, if they'd every one been slain,
Never a foot back man would flee.

And such a storm amongst them fell,
As I think you never heard the like;
For he that bears his head so high,
He oft-times falls into the dyke.

And now I do entreat you all,
As many as are present here,
To pray for the singer of this song,
For he sings to make blythe your cheer.

NOTES

ON

ROOKHOPE RYDE.

And so is the man of Thirlwall and Willie-haver.—P. 262. v. 2.

Thirwall, or Thirlitwall, is said by Fordun, the Scottish historian, to be a name given to the Picts' or Roman wall, from its having been thirled, or perforated, in ancient times, by the Scots and Picts. Wyntown also, who most probably copied Fordun, calls it Thirlwall. Thirlwall-castle, though in a very ruinous condition, is still standing by the site of this famous wall, upon the river Tippal. It gave name to the ancient family, De Thirlwall. Willie-haver, or Willeva, is a small district or township in the parish of Lanercost, near Bewcastle-dale, in Cumberland, mentioned in the preceding ballad of *Hobbie Noble:*

> "Gar warn the bows of Hartlie-burn,
> See they sharp their arrows on the wa';
> Warn Willeva, and Spear Edom,
> And see the morn they meet me a'."

That some of them's with the two Earls.—P. 264. v. 3.

The two Earls were Thomas Percy, Earl of Northumber-

land, and Charles Nevil, Earl of Westmoreland, who, on the 15th of November, 1569, at the head of their tenantry and others, took arms for the purpose of liberating Mary, Queen of Scots, and restoring the old religion. They besieged Barnard-castle, which was, for eleven days, stoutly defended by Sir George Bowes, who, afterward, being appointed the Queen's marshal, hanged the poor constables and peasantry by dozens in a day, to the amount of 800. The Earl of Northumberland, betrayed by the Scots, with whom he had taken refuge, was beheaded at York, on the 22d of August, 1572; and the Earl of Westmoreland, deprived of the ancient and noble patrimony of the Nevils, and reduced to beggary, escaped over sea, into Flanders, and died in misery and disgrace, being the last of his family. See two ballads on this subject, in Percy's Collection, (I. 271, 281,) and consider whether they be genuine.—RITSON.

At the East-gate, where he did dwell.—P. 263. v. 4.

Now a straggling village so called; originally, it would seem, the gate-house, or ranger's lodge, at the east entrance of Stanhope-park. At some distance from this place is West-gate, so called for a similar reason.—RITSON.

"The mention of the bailiff's house at the East-gate is "(were such a proof wanting) strongly indicative of the authen-"ticity of the ballad. The family of Emerson of East-gath, a "fief, if I may so call it, held under the bishop, long exercised "the office of bailiff of Wolsingham, the chief town and borough "of Weardale, and of Forster, &c., under successive prelates; "and the present bishop's game keeper and ranger within Wear-"dale, may be said to claim his office by maternal descent, be-"ing Emerson Muschamp (another ancient name) and, though "somewhat shorn of his beams, the lineal heir of the old bai-"liffs of Weardale.

"Rob. Emerson Parcarius de Stanhopp 13 Aug. 7 Rob. Ne-"vill Epi.

"Cuthb. Emerson de Eastgat sub Forestar. Parci de Stan-"hopp. 1 Wolsey.

"Lease of the East-gate to Mr George Emerson for 30 years, "10*l.* p. ann. 4. Ed. C. Bp. Tunstall.

"Rob. Emerson de Eastgat. sede vacante p. depriv. Tunstall "parcar. Dne Regine.

"Geo. et Ric. Emerson Ballivi de Wolsingham p. palens. 12 "Sept. 1616, sicut Geo. Rolli vel. Rollands Emerson olim te- "mere."—SURTEES.

BARTHRAM'S DIRGE.

THE following beautiful fragment was taken down by Mr Surtees, from the recitation of Anne Douglas, an old woman, who weeded in his garden. It is imperfect, and the words within brackets were inserted by my correspondent, to supply such stanzas as the chauntress's memory left defective. The hero of the ditty, if the reciter be correct, was shot to death by nine brothers, whose sister he had seduced, but was afterwards buried at her request, near their usual place of meeting; which may account for his being laid, not in holy ground, but beside the burn. The name of Barthram, or Bertram, would argue a Northumbrian origin, and there is, or was, a Headless Cross, among many so named, near Elsdon in Northumberland. But the mention of the Nine-Stane Burn, and Nine-Stane Rig, seems to refer to those places in the vicinity of Hermitage Castle,* which is counte-

* See the Ballad of Lord Soulis, in vol. III.

nanced by the mentioning our Lady's Chapel. Perhaps the hero may have been an Englishman, and the lady a native of Scotland, which renders the catastrophe even more probable. The style of the ballad is rather Scottish than Northumbrian. They certainly did bury in former days near the Nine-Stane Burn; for the editor remembers finding a small monumental cross, with initials, lying among the heather. It was so small, that, with the assistance of another gentleman, he easily placed it upright.

BARTHRAM'S DIRGE.

They shot him dead at the Nine-Stone Rig,
Beside the Headless Cross,
And they left him lying in his blood,
Upon the moor and moss.

* * * * *

They made a bier of the broken bough,
The sauch and the aspin gray,
And they bore him to the Lady Chapel,
And waked him there all day.

A lady came to that lonely bower,
And threw her robes aside,
She tore her ling [long] yellow hair,
And knelt at Barthram's side.

She bath'd him in the Lady-Well
His wounds so deep and sair,
And she plaited a garland for his breast,
And a garland for his hair.

They rowed him in a lily-sheet,
And bare him to his earth,
[And the Gray Friars sung the dead man's mass,
As they pass'd the Chapel Garth.]

They buried him at [the mirk] midnight,
[When the dew fell cold and still,
When the aspin gray forgot to play,
And the mist clung to the hill.]

They dug his grave but a bare foot deep,
By the edge of the Ninestone Burn,
And they covered him [o'er with the heather-flower]
The moss and the [Lady] fern.

A Gray Friar staid upon the grave,
And sang till the morning tide,
And a friar shall sing for Barthram's soul,
While the Headless Cross shall bide.*

* Mr Surtees observes, on this passage, that, in the return made by the commissioners, on the dissolution of Newminster Abbey, there is an item of a Chauntery, for one priest to sing daily, *ad crucem lapideam*. Probably many of these crosses had the like expiatory solemnities for persons slain there.

ARCHIE OF CA'FIELD.

It may perhaps be thought, that, from the near resemblance which this ballad bears to Kinmont Willie, and Jock o' the Side, the editor might have dispensed with inserting it in this collection. But, although the incidents in these three ballads are almost the same, yet there is considerable variety in the language; and each contains minute particulars, highly characteristic of Border manners, which it is the object of this publication to illustrate. Ca'field, or Calfield, is a place in Wauchopdale, belonging of old to the Armstrongs. In the account betwixt the English and Scottish Marches, Jock and Geordie of Ca'field, there called Calf-hill, are repeatedly marked as delinquents.—*History of Westmoreland and Cumberland*, vol. I. *Introduction*, p. 33. "Mettled "John Hall, from the laigh Tiviotdale," is perhaps John Hall of Newbigging, mentioned in the list of Border clans, as one of the chief men of name residing on the

Middle Marches in 1597. The editor has been enabled to add several stanzas to this ballad, since publication of the first edition. They were obtained from recitation; and, as they contrast the brutal indifference of the elder brother with the zeal and spirit of his associates, they add considerably to the dramatic effect of the whole.

ARCHIE OF CA'FIELD.

As I was a walking mine alane,
It was by the dawning of the day,
I heard twa brithers make their mane,
And I listened weel to what they did say.

The youngest to the eldest said,
"Blythe and merrie how can we be?
"There were three brithren of us born,
"And ane of us is condemned to die."

"An' ye wad be merrie, an' ye wad be sad,
"What the better wad billie Archie be?
"Unless I had thirty men to mysell,
"And a' to ride in my cumpanie.

" Ten to hald the horses' heads,
" And other ten the watch to be,
" And ten to break up the strong prison,
" Where billy Archie* he does lie."

Then up and spak him mettled John Hall,
(The luve of Teviotdale aye was he)
" An I had eleven men to mysell,
" It's aye the twalt man I wad be."

Then up bespak him coarse Ca'field,
(I wot and little gude worth was he)
" Thirty men is few anew,
" And a' to ride in our cumpanie."

There was horsing, horsing in haste,
And there was marching on the lee;
Until they cam to Murraywhate,
And they lighted there right speedilie.

" A smith! a smith!" Dickie he cries,
" A smith, a smith, right speedilie,
" To turn back the caukers of our horses' shoon!
" For it's unkensome† we wad be."

* *Billy*—Brother. † *Unkensome*—Unknown.

"There lives a smith on the water side,
"Will shoe my little black mare for me;
"And I've a crown in my pocket,
"And every groat of it I wad gie."

"The night is mirk, and it's very mirk,
"And by candle-light I canna weel see;
"The night is mirk, and it's very pit mirk,
"And there will never a nail ca' right for me."

"Shame fa' you and your trade baith,
"Canna beet* a gude fellow by your mystery!†
"But leeze me on thee, my little black mare,
"Thou's worth thy weight in gold to me."

There was horsing, horsing in haste,
And there was marching upon the lee;
Until they cam to Dumfries port,
And they lighted there right speedilie.

"There's five of us will hold the horse,
"And other five will watchmen be:
"But wha's the man, amang ye a',
"Will gae to the Tolbooth door wi' me?"

* *Beet*—Abet, aid. † *Mystery*—Trade.—See Shakespeare.

O up then spak him mettled John Hall,
(Frae the Laigh Tiviotdale was he)
" If it should cost my life this very night,
" I'll gae to the Tolbooth door wi' thee."

" Be of gude cheir, now, Archie, lad!
" Be of gude cheir, now, dear billie!
" Work thou within, and we without,
" And the morn thou'se dine at Ca'field wi' me."

O Jockie Hall stepp'd to the door,
And he bended low back his knee;
And he made the bolts, the door hang on,
Loup frae the wa' right wantonlie.

He took the prisoner on his back,
And down the Tolbooth stair cam he;
The black mare stood ready at the door,
I wot a foot ne'er stirred she.

They laid the links out owre her neck,
And that was her gold twist to be;*
And they cam doun thro' Dumfries toun,
And wow but they cam speedilie.

* The *Gold Twist* means the small gilded chains drawn across the chest of a war-horse, as a part of his caparison.

The live lang night these twelve men rade,
And aye till they were right wearie,
Until they came to the Murraywhate,
And they lighted there right speedilie.

"A smith! a smith!" then Dickie he cries,
"A smith, a smith, right speedilie,
"To file the irons frae my dear brither!
"For forward, forward we wad be."

They had na filed a shackle of iron,
A shackle of iron but barely thrie,
When out and spak young Simon brave,
"O dinna ye see what I do see?

"Lo! yonder comes Lieutenant Gordon,
"Wi' a hundred men in his cumpanie;
"This night will be our lyke-wake night,
"The morn the day we a' maun die."

O there was mounting, mounting in haste,
And there was marching upon the lee;
Until they cam to Annan water,
And it was flowing like the sea.

"My mare is young and very skeigh,*
"And in o' the weil† she will drown me;
"But ye'll take mine, and I'll take thine,
"And sune through the water we sall be."

Then up and spak him, coarse Ca'field,
(I wot and little gude worth was he)
"We had better lose ane than lose a' the lave;
"We'll lose the prisoner, we'll gae free."

"Shame fa' you and your lands baith!
"Wad ye e'en‡ your lands to your born billy?
"But hey! bear up, my bonnie black mare,
"And yet thro' the water we sall be."

Now they did swim that wan water,
And wow but they swam bonilie!
Until they cam to the other side,
And they wrang their cloathes right drunkily.

"Come thro', come thro', Lieutenant Gordon!
"Come thro' and drink some wine wi' me!
"For there is an ale-house here hard by,
"And it shall not cost thee ae penny."

---

* *Skeigh*—Shy. † *Weil*—Eddy.
‡ *E'en*—Even, put into comparison.

"Throw me my irons," quo' Lieutenant Gordon;
"I wot they cost me dear eneugh."
"The shame a ma," quo' mettled John Ha',
"They'll be gude shackles to my pleugh."

"Come thro', come thro', Lieutenant Gordon!
"Come thro' and drink some wine wi' me!
"Yestreen I was your prisoner,
"But now this morning am I free."

ARMSTRONG'S GOODNIGHT.

The following verses are said to have been composed by one of the ARMSTRONGS, *executed for the murder of Sir* JOHN CARMICHAEL *of Edrom, Warden of the Middle Marches.* (*See p.* 172.) *The tune is popular in Scotland; but whether these are the original words, will admit of a doubt.*

THIS night is my departing night,
For here nae langer must I stay;
There's neither friend nor foe o' mine,
But wishes me away.

What I have done thro' lack of wit,
I never, never can recall;
I hope ye're a' my friends as yet;
Goodnight and joy be with you all!

* * * * * *

THE FRAY OF SUPORT.

AN ANCIENT BORDER GATHERING SONG.

FROM TRADITION.

Of all the Border ditties, which have fallen into the editor's hands, this is by far the most uncouth and savage. It is usually chaunted in a sort of wild recitative, except the burden, which swells into a long and varied howl, not unlike to a view hollo'. The words, and the very great irregularity of the stanza (if it deserves the name,) sufficiently point out its intention and origin. An English woman, residing in Suport, near the foot of the Kershope, having been plundered in the night by a band of the Scottish moss-troopers, is supposed to convoke her servants and friends for the pursuit, or *Hot Trod;* upbraiding them, at the same time, in homely phrase, for their negligence and security. The *Hot Trod* was followed by the persons who had lost goods, with blood-

hounds and horns, to raise the country to help. They also used to carry a burning wisp of straw at a spear head, and to raise a cry, similar to the Indian war-whoop. It appears, from articles made by the Wardens of the English Marches, September 12th, in 6th of Edward VI. that all, on this cry being raised, were obliged to follow the fray, or chace, under pain of death. With these explanations, the general purport of the ballad may be easily discovered, though particular passages have become inexplicable, probably through corruptions introduced by reciters. The present copy is corrected from four copies, which differed widely from each other.

THE FRAY OF SUPORT.

Sleep'ry Sim of the Lamb-hill,
And snoring Jock of Suport-mill,
Ye are baith right het and fou';—
But my wae wakens na you.
Last night I saw a sorry sight—
Nought left me o' four-and-twenty gude ousen and ky,
My weel-ridden gelding, and a white quey,
But a toom byre and a wide,
And the twelve nogs * on ilka side.
Fy lads! shout a' a' a' a' a',
My gear's a' gane.

Weel may ye ken,
Last night I was right scarce o' men:

* *Nogs*—Stakes.

But Toppet Hob o' the Mains had guesten'd in my house
by chance;
I set him to wear the fore-door wi' the speir, while I kept
the back door wi' the lance;
But they hae run him thro' the thick o' the thie, and broke
his knee-pan,
And the mergh* o' his shin-bane has run down on his spur
leather whang:
He's lame while he lives, and where'er he may gang.
Fy lads! shout a' a' a' a' a',
My gear's a' gane.

But Peenye, my gude son, is out at the Hagbut-head,
His e'en glittering for anger like a fiery gleed;
Crying—"Mak sure the nooks
"Of Maky's-muir crooks;
"For the wily Scot takes by nooks, hooks, and crooks.
"Gin we meet a' together in a head the morn,
"We'll be merry men."
Fy lads! shout a' a' a' a' a',
My gear's a' gane.

There's doughty Cuddy in the Heugh-head,
Thou was aye gude at a need:

* *Mergh*—Marrow.

With thy brock-skin bag at thy belt,
Aye ready to mak a puir man help.
Thou maun awa' out to the cauf-craigs,
(Where anes ye lost your ain twa naigs)
And there toom thy brock-skin bag.
Fy lads! shout a' a' a' a' a',
My gear's a' ta'en.

Doughty Dan o' the Houlet Hirst,
Thou was aye gude at a birst:
Gude wi' a bow, and better wi' a speir,
The bauldest March-man that e'er followed gear;
Come thou here.
Fy lads! shout a' a' a' a' a',
My gear's a' gane.

Rise, ye carle coopers, frae making o' kirns and tubs,
In the Nicol forest woods.
Your craft has na left the value of an oak rod,
But if you had ony fear o' God,
Last night ye had na slept sae sound,
And let my gear be a' ta'en.
Fy lads! shout a' a' a' a' a,'
My gear's a' ta'en.

Ah! lads, we'll fang them a' in a net!
For I hae a' the fords o' Liddel set;
The Dunkin and the Door-loup,
The Willie-ford, and the Water slack,
The Black-rack and the Trout-dub of Liddel;
There stands John Forster wi' five men at his back,
Wi' bufft coat and cap of steil;
Boo! ca' at them e'en, Jock;
That ford's sicker, I wat weil.
Fy lads! shout a' a' a' a' a',
My gear's a' ta'en.

Hoo! hoo! gar raise the Reid Souter, and Ringan's Wat,
Wi' a broad elshin and a wicker;
I wat weil they'll mak a ford sicker.
Sae whether they be Elliots or Armstrangs,
Or rough riding Scots, or rude Johnstones,
Or whether they be frae the Tarras or Ewsdale,
They maun turn and fight, or try the deeps o' Liddel.
Fy lads! shout a' a' a' a' a',
My gear's a' ta'en.

"Ah! but they will play ye another jigg,
"For they will out at the big rig,

"And thro' at Fargy Grame's gap."
But I hae another wile for that:
For I hae little Will, and Stalwart Wat,
And lang Aicky, in the Souter Moor,
Wi' his sleuth dog sits in his watch right sure;
Shou'd the dog gie a bark,
He'll be out in his sark,
And die or won.
Fy lads! shout a' a' a' a' a',
My gear's a' ta'en.

Ha! boys—I see a party appearing—wha's yon?
Methinks it's the Captain of Bewcastle, and Jephtha's John,
Coming down by the foul steps of Catlowdie's loan:
They'll make a sicker, come which way they will.
Ha lads! shout a' a' a' a' a',
My gear's a' ta'en.

Captain Musgrave, and a' his band,
Are coming down by the Siller-strand,
And the Muckle toun-bell o' Carlisle is rung:
My gear was a' weel won,
And before it's carried o'er the Border, mony a man's gae down.
Fy lads! shout a' a' a' a' a',
My gear's a' gane.

NOTES

ON

THE FRAY OF SUPORT.

And there toom thy brock-skin bag.—P. 292. v. 1.
The badger-skin pouch was used for carrying ammunition.

In the Nicol forest woods.—P. 292. v. 3.
A wood in Cumberland, in which Suport is situated.

For I hae a' the fords o' Liddel set.—P. 293. v. 1.
Watching fords was a ready mode of intercepting the marauders; the names of the most noted fords upon the Liddel are recited in this verse.

And thro' at Fargy Grame's gap.—P. 294. v. 1.
Fergus Grame of Sowport, as one of the chief men of that clan, became security to Lord Scroope for the good behaviour of his friends and dependants, 8th January, 1662.—*Introduction to History of Westmoreland and Cumberland*, p. 111.

Wi' his sleuth dog sits on his watch right sure.—P. 294. v. 1.
The centinels, who, by the March laws, were planted upon the Border each night, had usually sleuth-dogs, or blood-

hounds, along with them.—See NICHOLSON's *Border Laws*, and *Lord* WHARTON's *Regulations, in the 6th of Edward VI.*

Of the blood-hound we have said something in the notes on *Hobbie Noble;* but we may, in addition, refer to the following poetical description of the qualities and uses of that singular animal:

——— Upon the banks
Of Tweed, slow winding thro' the vale, the seat
Of war and rapine once, ere Britons knew
The sweets of peace, or Anna's dread commands
To lasting leagues the haughty rivals awed,
There dwelt a pilfering race; well train'd and skill'd
In all the mysteries of theft, the spoil
Their only substance, feuds and war their sport.
Not more expert in every fraudful art
The arch felon was of old, who by the tail
Drew back his lowing prize: in vain his wiles,
In vain the shelter of the covering rock,
In vain the sooty cloud and ruddy flames,
That issued from his mouth; for soon he paid
His forfeit life: a debt how justly due
To wrong'd Alcides, and avenging Heaven!
Veil'd in the shades of night they ford the stream;
Then, prowling, far and near, whate'er they seize
Becomes their prey; nor flocks nor herds are safe,
Nor stalls protect the steer, nor strong-bart'd doors
Secure the favourite horse. Soon as the morn
Reveals his wrongs, with ghastly visage wan
The plunder'd owner stands, and from his lips
A thousand thronging curses burst their way.
He calls his stout allies, and in a line
His faithful hounds he leads; then, with a voice
That utters loud his rage, attentive cheers.
Soon the sagacious brute, his curling tail
Flourish'd in air, low bending, plies around
His busy nose, the steaming vapour snuffs
Inquisitive, nor leaves one turf untried;

Till, conscious of the recent stains, his heart
Beats quick, his snuffling nose, his active tail,
Attest his joy; then, with deep-opening mouth
That makes the welkin tremble, he proclaims
The audacious felon! foot by foot he marks
His winding way, while all the listening crowd
Applaud his reasonings. O'er the watery ford,
Dry sandy heaths and stony barren hills,
O'er beaten tracks, with men and beast distain'd,
Unerring he pursues; till, at the cot
Arrived, and seizing by his guilty throat
The caitiff vile, redeems the captive prey:
So exquisitely delicate his sense!

SOMERVILLE'S *Chase.*

Methinks it's the Captain of Bewcastle, &c.
Coming down by the foul steps of Catlowdie's loan.—P. 294. v. 2.

According to the late Glenriddell's notes on this ballad, the office of Captain of Bewcastle was held by the chief of the Nixons.

Catlowdie is a small village in Cumberland, near the junction of the Esk and Liddel.

Captain Musgrave and a' his band.—P. 294. v. 3.

This was probably the famous Captain Jack Musgrave, who had charge of the watch along the Cryssop, or Kershope, as appears from the order of the watches appointed by Lord Wharton, when deputy-warden-general, in the 6th Edward VI.

LORD MAXWELL'S GOODNIGHT.

NEVER BEFORE PUBLISHED.

THIS beautiful ballad is published from a copy in Glenriddell's MSS., with some slight variations from tradition. It alludes to one of the most remarkable feuds upon the West Marches.

A. D. 1585, John, Lord Maxwell, or, as he styled himself, Earl of Morton, having quarrelled with the Earl of Arran, reigning favourite of James VI., and fallen, of course, under the displeasure of the court, was denounced rebel. A commission was also given to the Laird of Johnstone, then warden of the West Marches, to pursue and apprehend the ancient rival and enemy of his house. Two bands of mercenaries, commanded by Captains Cranstoun and Lammie, who were sent from Edinburgh to support Johnstone, were attacked and cut to pieces at Crawford-muir, by Robert Maxwell, natural brother to

the chieftain ;* who, following up his advantage, burned Johnstone's castle of Lochwood, observing, with savage glee, that he would give Lady Johnstone light enough by which to "set her hood." In a subsequent conflict, Johnstone himself was defeated, and made prisoner, and is said to have died of grief at the disgrace which he sustained.—See SPOTTISWOODE and JOHNSTONE'S *Histories*, and MOYSE'S *Memoirs, ad annum*, 1585.

By one of the revolutions, common in those days, Maxwell was soon after restored to the King's favour in his turn, and obtained the wardenry of the West Marches. A bond of alliance was subscribed by him, and by Sir James Johnstone, and for some time the two clans lived in harmony. In the year 1593, however, the hereditary feud was revived, on the following occasion: A band of marauders, of the clan Johnstone, drove a prey of cattle from the lands belonging to the Lairds of Crichton, Sanquhar, and Drumlanrig; and defeated, with slaughter, the pursuers, who attempted to rescue their property.—[*See the following ballad and Introduction.*] The injured parties, being apprehensive that Maxwell would not cordially embrace their cause, on account of his late re-

* It is devoutedly to be wished, that this Lammie (who was killed in the skirmish) may have been the same miscreant, who, in the day of Queen Mary's distress, "hes ensigne being of quhyt taffitae, had "painted one it ye cruell murther of King Henry, and layed down "before her Majestie, at quhat time she presented herself as prisoner "to ye lordis."—BIRREL'S *Diary*, *June* 15, 1567. It would be some satisfaction to know, that the grey hairs of this worthy personage did not go down to the grave in peace.

conciliation with the Johnstones, endeavoured to overcome his reluctance, by offering to enter into bonds of manrent, and so to become his followers and liegemen; he, on the other hand, granting to them a bond of maintenance, or protection, by which he bound himself, in usual form, to maintain their quarrel against all mortals, saving his loyalty. Thus, the most powerful and respectable families in Dumfries-shire, became, for a time, the vassals of Lord Maxwell. This secret alliance was discovered to Sir James Johnstone by the Laird of Cummertrees, one of his own clan, though a retainer to Maxwell. Cummertrees even contrived to possess himself of the bonds of manrent, which he delivered to his chief. The petty warfare betwixt the rival barons was instantly renewed. Buccleuch, a near relation of Johnstone, came to his assistance with his clan, "the most renowned free-"booters (says a historian,) the fiercest and bravest war-"riors among the Border tribes."* With Buccleuch also came the Elliots, Armstrongs, and Græmes. Thus reinforced, Johnstone surprised and cut to pieces a party of the Maxwells, stationed at Lochmaben. On the other hand, Lord Maxwell, armed with the royal authority, and numbering among his followers all the barons of Nithesdale, displayed his banner as the King's lieutenant, and invaded Annandale at the head of 2000 men. In

* *Inter accolas latrociniis famosos Scotos Buccleuchi clientes—fortissimos tribulium et ferocissimos.*—JOHNSTONI *Historia, Ed. Amstæl.* p. 182.

those days, however, the royal auspices seem to have carried as little good fortune as effective strength with them. A desperate conflict, still renowned in tradition, took place at the Dryffe sands, not far from Lockerby, in which Johnstone, although inferior in numbers, partly by his own conduct, partly by the valour of his allies, gained a decisive victory. Lord Maxwell, a tall man, and heavily armed, was struck from his horse in the flight, and cruelly slain, after the hand, which he stretched out for quarter, had been severed from his body. Many of his followers were slain in the battle, and many cruelly wounded, especially by slashes in the face, which wound was thence termed a "*Lockerby lick.*" The Barons of Lag, Closeburn, and Drumlanrig, escaped by the fleetness of their horses; a circumstance alluded to in the following ballad.

This fatal battle was followed by a long feud, attended with all the circumstances of horror, proper to a barbarous age. Johnstone, in his diffuse manner, describes it thus: "*Ab eo die ultro citroque in Annandia et Nithia "magnis utriusque regionis jacturis certatum. Cædes, in-"cendia, rapinæ, et nefanda facinora; liberi in maternis "gremiis trucidati; mariti in conspectu conjugum sua-"rum; incensæ villæ lamentabiles ubique querimoniæ et "horribiles armorum fremitus.*"—JOHNSTONI *Historia, Ed. Amstæl.* p. 182.

John, Lord Maxwell, with whose *Goodnight* the reader is here presented, was son to him who fell at the battle

of Dryffe Sands, and is said to have early avowed the deepest revenge for his father's death. Such, indeed, was the fiery and untameable spirit of the man, that neither the threats nor entreaties of the King himself could make him lay aside his vindictive purpose; although Johnstone, the object of his resentment, had not only reconciled himself to the court, but even obtained the wardenry of the Middle Marches, in room of Sir John Carmichael, murdered by the Armstrongs. Lord Maxwell was therefore prohibited to approach the Border counties; and having, in contempt of that mandate, excited new disturbances, he was confined in the castle of Edinburgh. From this fortress, however, he contrived to make his escape; and, having repaired to Dumfriesshire, he sought an amicable interview with Johnstone, under pretence of a wish to accommodate their differences. Sir Robert Maxwell, of Orchardstane (mentioned in the Ballad, verse 1.,) who was married to a sister of Sir James Johnstone, persuaded his brother-in-law to accede to Maxwell's proposal. The following relation of what followed is taken from an article in Shawfield's MS., mentioned in the introduction to the ballad called Kinmont Willie:—

"The simple treuth and cause of the treasonable mur-
"ther of umquhile Sir James Johnstoun of Dunskellie,
"knight, was as efter followes. To wit, John Lord Max-
"well having dealt and useit his best means with some
"nobilemen and barrones within the cuntrey, and like-

" wayes with sundrie of the name of Maxwell, being re-
" fuised of them all to be partakers of so foull ane deed;
" till at last he unhappily persuaded one Charles Max-
" well, one of the brether of Kirkhouse, to be with him,
" and having made him assuired to be pairtner in that
" treasonable plott: therefore, taking advantage of the
" weakness and unabilitie of umquhill Sir Robert Max-
" well of Orchyardtoun, knight, presuming that he had
" power of the said Sir James, being brether-in-law to
" uthers, to bring him to anye part he pleased; Max-
" well pretending he had speciall business to doe with
" Sir James, hearing he was going from the court of
" England, so gave out by reasoun he was the king's re-
" bell for the time, for breaking waird out of the castle
" of Edinburgh, that he had no other houpes to obtaine
" the King's favour but be his meanes. So upon this pre-
" tence, the said Sir James was moved to meet with him
" at Auchnamhill, near by Arthorstane, without the
" house of Bent, upon the 6th of Aprile 1608, with one
" man onlie with him as was with the uther, therselves
" two onlie and the forsaid Sir Robert Maxwell with
" them, and their servants being a little off. The for-
" said Charles falls out with opprobrious and malicious
" speeches to Sir James his servant, William Johnstoune
" of Gunmenlie, and before he was aware shott him
" with ane pistoll. Sir James hearing the shott and his
" man's words, turning about to see what was past, im-
" mediatlie Maxwell shott him behind his back with ane

" pistoll chairgit with two poysonit bullets, at which " shott the said Sir James fell from his horse. Maxwell " not being content therewith, raid about him ane lang " tyme, and persued him farder, vowing to use him more " cruelly and treacherouslie then he had done, for which " it is known sufficiently what followed." " A fact," saith Spottiswoode, " detested by all honest men, and " the gentleman's misfortune severely lamented, for he " was a man full of wisdom and courage."—SPOTTISWOODE, *Edition 1677, pages 467, 504.* JOHNSTONI *Historia, Ed. Amstel.* pp. 254, 283, 449.

Lord Maxwell, the murderer, made his escape to France; but, having ventured to return to Scotland, he was apprehended lurking in the wilds of Caithness, and brought to trial at Edinburgh. The royal authority was now much strengthened by the union of the crowns, and James employed it in staunching the feuds of the nobility, with a firmness which was no attribute of his general character. But in the best actions of that monarch, there seems to have been an unfortunate tincture of that meanness, so visible on the present occasion. Lord Maxwell was indicted for the murder of Johnstone; but this was combined with a charge of *fire-raising*, which, according to the ancient Scottish law, if perpetrated by a landed man, constituted a species of treason, and inferred forfeiture. Thus the noble purpose of public justice was sullied by being united with that of enriching some needy favourite. John, Lord Maxwell, was condemned, and be-

headed, 21st May, 1613. Sir Gideon Murray treasurer-depute, had a great share of his forfeiture; but the attainder was afterwards reversed, and the honours and estate was conferred upon the brother of the deceased. LAING'S *History of Scotland*, vol. I. p. 62.—JOHNSTONI *Historia*, p. 493.

The lady, mentioned in the ballad, was sister to the Marquis of Hamilton, and, according to Johnstone the historian, had little reason to regret being separated from her husband, whose harsh treatment finally occasioned her death. But Johnstone appears not to be altogether untinctured with the prejudices of his clan, and is probably, in this instance, guilty of exaggeration; as the active share, taken by the Marquis of Hamilton in favour of Maxwell, is a circumstance inconsistent with such a report.

Thus was finally ended, by a salutary example of severity, the "foul debate" betwixt the Maxwells and Johnstones, in the course of which each family lost two chieftains; one dying of a broken heart, one in the field of battle, one by assassination, and one by the sword of the executioner.

It seems reasonable to believe, that the following ballad must have been written before the death of Lord Maxwell, in 1613; otherwise there would have been some allusion to that event. It must therefore have been composed betwixt 1608 and that period.

LORD MAXWELL'S GOODNIGHT.

"ADIEU, madame, my mother dear,
" But and my sisters three!
" Adieu, fair Robert of Orchardstane!
" My heart is wae for thee.
" Adieu, the lily and the rose,
" The primrose fair to see;
" Adieu, my ladye, and only joy!
" For I may not stay with thee.

" Though I hae slain the Lord Johnstone,
" What care I for their feid?
" My noble mind their wrath disdains:
" He was my father's deid.
" Both night and day I laboured oft
" Of him avenged to be;
" But now I've got what lang I sought,
" And I may not stay with thee.

" Adieu ! Drumlanrig, false wert aye,
" And Closeburn in a band !
" The Laird of Lag, frae my father that fled,
" When the Johnston struck aff his hand.
" They were three brethren in a band—
" Joy may they never see !
" Their treacherous art, and cowardly heart,
" Has twin'd my love and me.

" Adieu ! Dumfries, my proper place,
" But and Carlaverock fair !
" Adieu ! my castle of the Thrieve,
" Wi' a' my buildings there :
" Adieu ! Lochmaben's gates sae fair,
" The Langholm-holm, where birks there be ;
" Adieu ! my ladye, and only joy,
" For, trust me, I may not stay wi' thee.

" Adieu ! fair Eskdale up and down,
" Where my puir friends do dwell ;
" The bangisters* will ding them down,
" And will them sair compell.
" But I'll avenge their feid mysell,
" When I come o'er the sea ;
" Adieu ! my ladye, and only joy,
" For I may not stay wi' thee."

* *Bangisters*—The prevailing party.

" Lord of the land !"—that ladye said,
" O wad ye go wi' me,
" Unto my brother's stately tower,
" Where safest ye may be !
" There Hamiltons, and Douglas baith,
" Shall rise to succour thee."
" Thanks for thy kindness, fair my dame,
" But I may not stay wi' thee."

Then he tuik aff a gay gold ring,
Thereat hang signets three ;
" Hae, take thee that, mine ain dear thing,
" And still hae mind o' me :
" But, if thou take another lord,
" Ere I come ower the sea—
" His life is but a three days' lease,
" Tho' I may not stay wi' thee."

The wind was fair, the ship was clear,
That good lord went away ;
And most part of his friends were there,
To give him a fair convey.
They drank the wine, they did na spair,
Even in that gude lord's sight—
Sae now he's o'er the floods sae gray,
And Lord Maxwell has ta'en his Goodnight.

NOTES

ON

LORD MAXWELL'S GOODNIGHT.

Adieu! Drumlanrig, &c.—P. 307. v. 1.

The reader will perceive, from the Introduction, what connection the bond, subscribed by Douglas of Drumlanrig, Kirkpatrick of Closeburn, and Grierson of Lagg, had with the death of Lord Maxwell's father. For the satisfaction of those who may be curious as to the form of these bonds, I have transcribed a letter of manrent,* from a MS. collection of upwards of twenty deeds of that nature, copied from the originals by the late John Syme, Esq. writer to the signet; for the use of which, with many other favours of a similar nature, I am indebted to Dr Robert Anderson of Edinburgh. The bond is granted by Thomas Kirkpatrick of Closeburn, to Robert, Lord Maxwell, father of him who was slain at the battle of the Dryffe Sands.

* The proper spelling is *manred*. Thus, in the romance of *Florice and Blanchefloure*—

"He wil falle to thi fot,
"And bicom thi man gif he mot;
"His *manred* thou schalt afonge,
"And the trewthe of his honde."

BOND OF MANRENT.

" Be it kend till all men be thir present lettres, me Thomas " Kirkpatrick of Closburn, to be bundin and oblist, and be the " tenor heirof, bindis and oblissis me be the faith and treuth " of my body, in manrent and service to ane nobil and mychty " lord, Robert Lord Maxwell, induring all the dayis of my " lyfe; and byndis and oblissis me, as said is, to be leill and " trew man and servant to the said Robert Lord Maxwell, my " master, and sall nowthir heir nor se his skaith, but sall let " the samyn at my uter power, an warn him therof. And I " sall conceill it that the said lord schawis to me, and sall gif " him agane the best leill and trew counsale that I can, quhen " he ony askis at me; and that I sall ryde with my kin, freyndis, " servandis, and allies, that wil do for me, or to gang with the " said lord; and to do him æfauld, trew, and thankful service, " and take æfauld playne part with the said lord, my maister, " in all and sindry his actionis, causis, quarrellis, leful and " honest, movit, or to be movit be him, or aganis him, baith " in peace and weir, contrair or aganis all thae that leiffes or " de may (my allegeant to owr soveran ladye the quenis grace, " her tutor and governor, allanerly except.) And thir my " lettres of manrent, for all the dayis of my life foresaid to " indure, all dissimulations, fraud, or gyle, secludit and away " put. In witness," &c. The deed is signed at Edinburgh, 3d February, 1542.

In the collection, from which this extract is made, there are bonds of a similar nature granted to Lord Maxwell, by Douglas of Drumlanrig, ancestor to the Duke of Queensberry; by Crichton Lord Sanquhar, ancestor of the Earls of Dumfries, and many of his kindred; by Stuart of Castlemilk; by Stuart of Garlies, ancestor of the Earls of Galloway; by Murray of Cockpool, ancestor of the Murrays, Lords Annandale; by Grierson of Lagg, Gordon of Lochmaben, and many other of the most ancient and respectable barons in the south-west of Scotland, binding themselves, in the most submissive terms, to

become the liegemen and the vassals of the house of Maxwell; a circumstance which must highly excite our idea of the power of that family. Nay, even the rival chieftain, Johnstone of Johnstone, seems at one time to have come under a similar obligation to Maxwell, by a bond, dated 11th February, 1528, in which reference is made to the counter-obligation of the patron, in these words: "Forasmeikle as the said lord has oblist "him to supple, maintene, and defend me, in the peciabill "brouking and joysing of all my landis, rentis, &c., and to take "my æfald, leill and trew part, in all my good actionis, causis, "and quarles, leiful and honest, aganes all deedlie, his allegeance to our soveraigne lord the king allanerly excepted, "as at mair length is contained in his lettres of maintenance "maid to me therupon; therefore, &c." he proceeds to bind himself as liegeman to the Maxwell.

I cannot dismiss the subject without observing, that, in the dangerous times of Queen Mary, when most of these bonds are dated, many barons, for the sake of maintaining unanimity and good order, may have chosen to enroll themselves among the clients of Lord Maxwell, then warden of the Border, from which, at a less turbulent period, personal considerations would have deterred them.

Adieu! my castle of the Thrieve.—P. 307. v. 2.

This fortress is situated in the stewartry of Kirkcudbright, upon an island several acres in extent, formed by the river Dee. The walls are very thick and strong, and bear the marks of great antiquity. It was a royal castle; but the keeping of it, agreeable to the feudal practice, was granted by charter, or sometimes by a more temporary and precarious right, to different powerful families, together with lands for their good service in maintaining and defending the place. This office of heritable keeper remained with the Nithesdale family (chief of the Maxwells) till their forfeiture, 1715. The garrison seems to have been victualled upon feudal principles; for each parish in the stewartry was burdened with the yearly payment of a *lardner mart cow*, i. e. a cow fit for being killed and salted at

Martinmas, for winter provisions. The right of levying these cattle was retained by the Nithesdale family, when they sold the castle and estate, in 1704, and they did not cease to exercise it till their attainder.—FOUNTAINHALL's *Decisions*, vol. I. p. 688.

This same castle of the Thrieve was, A.D. 1451-2, the scene of an outrageous and cruel insult upon the royal authority. The fortress was then held by William VIII. Earl of Douglas, who, in fact, possessed a more unlimited authority over the southern districts of Scotland, than the reigning monarch. The Earl had, on some pretence, seized and imprisoned a baron, called Maclellan, tutor of Bombie, whom he threatened to bring to trial, by his power of hereditary jurisdiction. The uncle of this gentleman, Sir Patrick Gray of Foulis, who commanded the body-guard of James II., obtained from that prince a warrant, requiring from Earl Douglas the body of the prisoner. When Gray appeared, the earl instantly suspected his errand. "You have not dined," said he, without suffering him to open his commission: "it is ill talking between a full man and a fasting." While Gray was at meat, the unfortunate prisoner was, by Douglas's command, led forth to the court-yard and beheaded. When the repast was finished, the King's letter was presented and opened. "Sir Patrick," says Douglas, leading Gray to the court, "right glad had I been "to honour the King's messenger; but you have come too late. "Yonder lies your sister's son, without the head: you are "welcome to his dead body." Gray, having mounted his horse, turned to the Earl, and expressed his wrath in a deadly oath, that he would requite the injury with Douglas's heart's blood. —"To horse!" cried the haughty baron; and the messenger of his prince was pursued till within a few miles of Edinburgh. Gray, however, had an opportunity of keeping his vow; for, being upon guard in the King's anti-chamber at Stirling, when James, incensed at the insolence of the Earl, struck him with his dagger, Sir Patrick rushed in, and dispatched him with a pole-axe. The castle of Thrieve was the last of the fortresses which held out for the house of Douglas, after their grand re-

bellion in 1453. James II. writes an account of the exile of this potent family, to Charles VII. of France, 8th July, 1455; and adds, that all their castles had been yielded to him, "*Ex-*
"*cepto duntaxat castro de Trefe, per nostros fideles impræsen-*
"*tiarum obsesso; quod domino concedente in brevi obtinere*
"*speramus.*"—PINKERTON'S *History, Appendix*, vol. I. p. 486. —See PITSCOTTIE'S *History*, GODSCROFT, &c.

And most part of his friends were there.—P. 308. v. 3.

The ancestor of the present Mr Maxwell of Broomholm is particularly mentioned in Glenriddel's MS. as having attended his chieftain in his distress, and as having received a grant of lands, in reward of this manifestation of attachment.

Sae now he's o'er the floods sae grey.—P. 308. v. 3.

This seems to have been a favourite epithet in old romances. Thus in *Hornchilde*, and *Maiden Rimuild*,

> Thai sayled ower the *flode so gray*,
> In Inglond arrived were thay,
> Ther him levest ware.

THE LADS OF WAMPHRAY.

THE reader will find, prefixed to the foregoing ballad, an account of the noted feud betwixt the families of Maxwell and Johnstone. The following song celebrates the skirmish, in 1593, betwixt the Johnstones and Crichtons, which led to the revival of the ancient quarrel betwixt Johnstone and Maxwell, and finally to the battle of Dryffe Sands, in which the latter lost his life. Wamphray is the name of a parish in Annandale. Lethenhall was the abode of Johnstone of Wamphray, and continued to be so till of late years. William Johnstone of Wamphray, called the *Galliard*, was a noted freebooter. A place, near the head of Tiviotdale, retains the name of the *Galliard's Faulds*, (folds,) being a valley where he used to secrete and divide his spoil, with his Liddesdale and Eskdale associates. His *nom de guerre* seems to have been derived from the dance called *The Galliard*. The word is still used in Scotland,

to express an active, gay, dissipated character.* Willie of the Kirkhill, nephew to the Galliard, and his avenger, was also a noted Border robber. Previous to the battle of Dryffe Sands, so often mentioned, tradition reports, that Maxwell had offered a ten-pound-land to any of his party, who should bring him the head or hand of the Laird of Johnstone. This being reported to his antagonist, he answered, he had not a ten-pound-land to offer, but would give a five-merk-land to the man who should that day cut off the head or hand of Lord Maxwell. Willie of the Kirkhill, mounted upon a young grey horse, rushed upon the enemy, and earned the reward, by striking down their unfortunate chieftain, and cutting off his right hand.

Leverhay, Stefenbiggin, Girth-head, &c. are all situated in the parish of Wamphray. The Biddes-burn, where the skirmish took place betwixt the Johnstones and their pursuers, is a rivulet which takes its course among the mountains on the confines of Nithesdale and Annandale. The Wellpath is a pass by which the Johnstones were retreating to their fastnesses in Annandale. Ricklaw-holm is a place upon the Evan water, which

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* Cleveland applies the phrase in a very different manner, in treating of the assembly of Divines at Westminster, 1644:

> And Selden is a *Galliard* by himself,
> And wel might be; there's more divines in him,
> Than in all this their Jewish Sanhedrim.

Skelton, in his railing poem against James IV., terms him *Sir Skyr Galyard.*

falls into the Annan, below Moffat. Wamphray-gate was in these days an ale-house. With these local explanations, it is hoped the following ballad will be easily understood.

From a pedigree in the appeal case of Sir James Johnstone of Westeraw, claiming the honours and titles of Annandale, it appears that the Johnstones of Wamphray were descended from James, sixth son of the sixth baron of Johnstone. The male line became extinct in 1657.

THE LADS OF WAMPHRAY.

'Twixt Girth-head and the Langwood end,
Lived the Galliard, and the Galliard's men;
But and the lads of Leverhay,
That drove the Crichton's gear away.

It is the lads of Lethenha',
The greatest rogues amang them a':
But and the lads of Stefenbiggin,
They broke the house in at the rigging.

The lads of Fingland, and Helbeck-hill,
They were never for good, but aye for ill;
'Twixt the Staywood-bush and Langside-hill,
They steal'd the broked cow and the branded bull.

It is the lads of the Girth-head,
The deil's in them for pride and greed;
For the Galliard, and the gay Galliard's men,
They ne'er saw a horse but they made it their ain.

The Galliard to Nithsdale is gane,
To steal Sim Crichton's winsome dun;
The Galliard is unto the stable gane,
But instead of the dun, the blind he has ta'en.

"Now Simmy, Simmy of the Side,
"Come out and see a Johnstone ride!
"Here's the bonniest horse in a' Nithside,
"And a gentle Johnstone aboon his hide."

Simmy Crichton's mounted then,
And Crichtons has raised mony a ane;
The Galliard trow'd his horse had been wight,
But the Crichtons beat him out o' sight.

As soon as the Galliard the Crichton saw,
Behind the saugh-bush he did draw;
And there the Crichtons the Galliard hae ta'en,
And nane wi' him but Willie alane.

'O Simmy, Simmy, now let me gang,
" And I'll never mair do a Crichton wrang!
" O Simmy, Simmy, now let me be,
" And a peck o' gowd I'll give to thee!

" O Simmy, Simmy, now let me gang,
" And my wife shall heap it with her hand."
But the Crichtons wad na let the Galliard be,
But they hang'd him hie upon a tree.

O think then Willie he was right wae,
When he saw his uncle guided sae;
" But if ever I live Wamphray to see,
" My uncle's death avenged shall be!"

Back to Wamphray he is gane,
And riders has raised mony a ane;
Saying—" My lads, if ye'll be true,
" Ye shall a' be clad in the noble blue."

Back to Nithsdale they have gane,
And awa' the Crichtons' nowt hae ta'en;
But when they cam to the Wellpath-head,
The Crichtons bade them 'light and lead.

And when they cam to the Biddes burn,
The Crichtons bade them stand and turn;
And when they cam to the Biddes strand,
The Crichtons they were hard at hand.

But when they cam to the Biddes law,
The Johnstones bade them stand and draw;
"We've done nae ill, we'll thole nae wrang,
"But back to Wamphray we will gang."

And out spoke Willy of the Kirkhill,
"Of fighting, lads, ye'se hae your fill."
And from his horse Willie he lap,
And a burnish'd brand in his hand he gat.

Out through the Crichtons Willie he ran,
And dang them down baith horse and man;
O but the Johnstones were wondrous rude,
When the Biddes burn ran three days blood.

"Now, sirs, we have done a noble deed;
"We have revenged the Galliard's bleid:
"For every finger of the Galliard's hand,
"I vow this day I've kill'd a man."

As they cam in at Evan-head,
At Ricklaw-holm they spread abread;
" Drive on, my lads! it will be late;
" We'll hae a pint at Wamphray gate.

" For where'er I gang, or e'er I ride,
" The lads of Wamphray are on my side;
" And of a' the lads that I do ken,
" A Wamphray lad's the king of men."

THE END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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